

**THE RADICAL RIGHT AND TEACHER
EDUCATION:
AN ANALYSIS OF AND RESPONSE TO THE
RESTRUCTURING OF INITIAL TEACHER
EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES UNDER
THE CONSERVATIVE AND NEW LABOUR
GOVERNMENTS
1979-2001**

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ABSTRACT

Following the 1979 general election, Conservative governments radically restructured Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in England and Wales (a process that I argue is substantially retained by New Labour in its policy on ITE and in education more widely). The aim of this thesis is to examine and evaluate Radical Right policy on ITE and responses to it, and to propose an alternative Radical Left policy based on the theories and data analysed.

The thesis begins by describing the content and context of the restructuring and by charting various responses from the education community. It proceeds to identify ideological approaches to ITE that are 'alternative' and 'oppositional' to the Radical Right.

To make sense of the restructuring, I examine five theoretical analyses of state policy and of the articulations and disarticulations within the ITE policy process. These are 'state autonomy', postmodernist, 'quasi- postmodernist', culturalist neo-Marxist, and structuralist neo-Marxist analyses. I then describe and evaluate what aimed to be a Radical Left 'critical transformative' ITE course (the Crawley BEd) that I led from 1990–1995. Here I present data on student teacher and NQT reactions to that course, which I compare to other courses that I surveyed.

In the light of this data I then revisit the theoretical explanations by referring to the limited 'transformativeness' of the Crawley BEd, and to the success of Radical Right policy on ITE (and education more widely) nationally. My theoretical conclusion is that a structuralist neo-Marxist analysis best explains the data and policy developments. Finally, I suggest some implications for policy, deriving from structuralist neo-Marxist analysis.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines Radical Right policy on Initial Teacher Education (ITE) between 1979 and 2001. My aim is to examine policy and reactions to it from within the education community, and to evaluate the adequacy of theoretical explanations.

This is achieved through a series of analytic comparisons. Ultimately, the findings of the thesis, derived from historical analysis, empirical data and theoretical scrutiny, are intended to contribute to the development of policy for critical transformative approaches to ITE – in its mode of reflection, course content, and course organization.

To begin the thesis, Chapter One gives an historical account of the Conservative Government restructuring of ITE in England and Wales, between 1979 and 1997.

This considers both the policy and its effects, referring in particular to the curricular and organizational prescriptions of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE); to its successor body, the Teacher Training Agency (TTA); and to the February 1997 announcement of a National Curriculum for 'Teacher Training' by the Conservative Secretary of State for Education and Employment, Gillian Shephard.

The Chapter traces the setting up of a market in ITE, as well as the attempt to recompose the teaching force and the establishment of this tightly controlled National Curriculum, since the CATE Circulars 9/92 and 14/93. This account notes a characteristic emphasis on school-basing and practical skill development, and the abjuring of theory *per se* as well as of critical reflection, with its attendant social justice underpinnings.

The objective for Chapter Two is to define the Radical Right ideological themes and principles used to justify or support this restructuring of ITE. Here, the analysis extends from the Radical Right's ideology on teacher education and training, under Thatcher and Major, to its ideology and policy on schooling in general. The sometimes conflicting

and sometimes complementary influences of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism on Conservative governments through various historical policy-phases are also traced.

In Chapter Three, I examine statistical evidence of responses to these policy developments from within the education community – from teacher educators, Headteachers, experienced teachers, newly qualified teachers (NQTs) and student teachers, and a number ITE course leaders. I draw on data from my *Two Local Surveys of Headteacher Opinions on School-based ITE and Higher Education-based ITE and the Relevance of Theory*, which questioned 146 Headteachers in 1992/93. I also draw data from my 'New Teacher in School' type survey of 1159 NQTs and 497 final-year undergraduate student teachers, which took place between 1989 and 1996. These surveys, the largest undertaken in recent decades, contest Conservatives' claims to widespread support for their restructuring of ITE. I compare these evaluations with the evidence of three other major surveys -*The 1993 Carrington and Tymms Survey*, *The 1993 Devon Association of Primary Headteachers (DAPH) Survey* (Hannan, 1995), *The 1994 SCOP Survey* (SCOP, 1994) and the 1993 Ofsted report on the *New Teacher in School (1993b)*.

The results confirm starkly many of the drawbacks and criticisms of school-centred, detheorized, technicist Initial Teacher Education noted in the surveys above, carried out at and around the time of the debate and promulgation of the key 1992/93 regulations. They do, however, point to an improvement in a number of technical aspects of teaching.

Throughout Chapter Three, analysis focuses on levels of satisfaction with the restructured form of Initial Teacher Education, as expressed by a range of respondents. This establishes support for *some* increased student teacher time in school (over and above that required by the 1989 CATE criteria), and thereby controverts the stated opinion of the Conservative Government and the Radical Right through the 1980s and early 1990s that there was widespread dissatisfaction with ITE courses in relation to their theoretical content, their political and contextual emphasis, and the ideological perspectives they provided, prior to their restructuring. In other words, they substantially negate the rationale for the Conservative government's introduction of the 1992/1993 regulations, which, in essence, remain in force under the New Labour government elected in May 1997.

In view of the dissent registered with decontextualized and detheorized ITE, the next three chapters examine 'Alternative' and then 'Oppositional' approaches to ITE, and the types and characteristics of 'reflection' associated with each. (Since these chapters consider political principles and ideological themes across the political spectrum, I use the same format as I established earlier, in Chapter Two, for the analysis of the Radical Right.)

Chapter Four opens with a discussion of the three categories of *Technical Reflection*, *Situational or Contextual Reflection* and *Critical Reflection* identified by Zeichner and Liston(1987). By examining each of these levels of reflection in relation to typical ITE course content on 'race', I show how these levels of reflection are associated, respectively, with Radical Right, Centrist and Radical Left positions. I suggest that the Centrist approaches – moderate Conservative, liberal progressive and social democratic – can be seen as *alternatives* to the Radical Right approach and not as *oppositional* to it.

Turning, then, to New Labour policy, Chapter Five assesses its policy on ITE immediately prior to the 1997 general election, particularly as defined by the influential adviser Michael Barber in *The Learning Game* (1996). This is followed by discussion of New Labour policy on ITE (with particular reference to Circulars 10/97 and 4/98 and to the Proposed Standards of July 2001). Initial Teacher Education is contextualized within education policy in general, during New Labour's first four and a half years of government (May 1997-October 2001). Finding a discontinuity with 'Old Labour' and an emphasis on 'technical-contextual' reflection, the conclusion characterizes the ideological position of the New Labour approach to education as a continuation – indeed, in some respects, a deepening – of Radical Right policy, but with some social democratic characteristics (Hill, 1999a, 2000a, b, c, 2001d, 2002a).

Radical Left, Marxist and Socialist *oppositional* approaches to the Radical Right are considered in Chapter Six. The principles and ideology of the Radical Left regarding ITE and education in general, which conspicuously promote 'critical reflection' and potentially transformative strategies in the struggle for economic and social justice, are therefore identified as directly *oppositional*. Yet it is also noted that Radical Left discourse sustains two, and arguably three, approaches, important to the assessment of ITE – the *Culturalist Voluntaristic Transformative*

and *Structuralist Reproductionist Transformative* approaches and, arguably, the Radical Left-liberal *Voluntaristic Pluralist* approach. These introduce the important dynamic of relative autonomy within the state and state institutions, and the subsequent degree of transformative agency that remains available, within practice, to teachers and to teacher educators.

For Chapter Seven, I refer again to the historical restructuring of Initial Teacher Education (by the Conservative governments of 1979-97 and the New Labour governments from 1997 to 2001), in order to examine the ability of contemporary theory to account for the policy process from inception through to implementation, in education institutions and communities. I recognize the critical consensus around the issue of *Articulations and Disarticulations in the Policy Process*, then address five theories – *State Autonomy Theory*, *Postmodernism*, *Quasi-Postmodernism*, *Culturalist neo-Marxism* and *Structuralist neo-Marxism*. The key issue of relative autonomy is investigated in concepts defining the relative autonomy of the state from capital, of the government from the state, of educational apparatuses from the government and of teachers and teacher educators acting within them.

The interrogation identifies a theoretical problematic. While these theories accept ambiguities in the policy process, the presence of ambiguities in their own theoretical processes clearly indicates an issue that is unresolved, yet pivotal. In the attempt to define the dynamic of state power and human/teacher agency, the ability of theoretical categories to provide explanations depends on the extent to which they link or sever the ideological and economic imperatives of the state. At this juncture, I look again to empirical evidence.

Chapter Eight describes and evaluates an avowedly Radical Left transformative ITE course, with an emphasis on social justice issues and the sociological and political contexts of schooling. This is the Crawley four-year Primary BEd for mature entrants that I developed and led between September 1990 and August 1995, at an off-site campus of the West Sussex Institute of Higher Education (subsequently Chichester Institute of Higher Education, then University College Chichester). The course was a deliberate attempt to develop a model of Initial Teacher Education that enabled theory and practice to inform each other to a greater extent than two other models of ITE. The first alternative model was based on ITE courses in general validated under the 1989

CATE criteria. The Crawley BEd course differed from most of these because students spent substantially more time in schools than required by the CATE criteria of 1989. It also made systematic attempts to theorize and critically analyse school practices. The other model, from which the Crawley BEd course departed, was the school-centred detheorized technicist model that I argue was being proposed through the late 1980s and the early 1990s, and was implemented through the Conservative Government regulations of 1992/1993.

I present data on student teacher and NQT reactions to the ideology and content of the Crawley BEd course, and compare those reactions with the evaluations of NQTs and student teachers from other contemporary Primary undergraduate ITE courses in England, from the main campus and from three other teacher education institutions.

In the discussion of this material, I focus on the pertinent issues of skill development, the development of critical reflection and the limits and possibilities of ideological intervention. The *Analysis of Ideological Value Added Data* assesses the effect of course ideology on student teacher and NQT ideology. This is related to other research on the impact of State ITE policy on the scope for transformative-egalitarian pedagogy.

Chapter Nine returns to the unresolved problematic in contemporary theory, identified at the conclusion of Chapter Seven. Applying the findings from empirical data and critical research, I pursue the ideology-economy relationship in the current economy. Pluralist, postmodernist and quasi-postmodernist suggest we live in New Times, in a Post-Fordist economy. I contest this and the associated concepts of de-centred subjectivity and the 'death of class', which present a challenge to neo-Marxist analysis.

This contestation is established partly by reference to classical Marxist principles and partly through a new theoretical proposition – *Economic Determination in the Last Resort: An Extension of Althusser*. Finally, a structuralist neo-Marxist explanation (as differentiated from a culturalist neo-Marxist analysis) of the Conservative and New Labour restructuring of ITE since 1979 is developed. This explanation is rooted in the characteristics of the policy changes made, and their effects.

Yet there remains another challenge for structuralist neo-Marxism. In Chapter Ten, I acknowledge the demand on a radical explanatory theory to underpin critical

transformative strategy, despite the difficulties involved – particularly the constraints imposed on curricular and other interventions by the immense economic and ideological power of the State (witnessed by the experiences and relatively minimal effects of the 'critically reflective' Crawley BEd discussed in Chapter Eight).

I present a series of policy proposals for the curriculum and organization of ITE. These derive from: the responses to Government policy from the education community (set out in Chapter Three); the characteristics of 'critical reflection' (Chapters Four and Six); the nature and evaluation of various explanatory State Theories (set out in Chapters Seven and Nine), and from the model of ITE represented by the Crawley BEd, including the residue of positive response to issues of social justice and contextual awareness that it created.

At the conclusion of Chapter Ten is a critical reflection on the evidence and analyses of the whole thesis, and a call for transformative change to be effected throughout ITE, throughout education and the wider social context, by means of engagement with the policies and discursive strategies of the Radical Right, in both its Conservative and New Labour manifestations.

Appendix 1 sets out the research methodology employed for the thesis. *Appendix 2 contains* the 'New Teacher in School' type course evaluation questionnaire, and the 'Ideological Value Added' questionnaire. *Appendix 3* comprises the complete set of analytical data for the 'New Teacher in School' type questionnaires. In the *Appendix Tables 4-10*, I extract the salient data from *Appendix 3*, from which, in turn, the *Tables* in Chapters Three and Eight of the thesis are drawn. *Appendix 12, Appendix 13* and *Appendix 14* present examples of contemporary, and potentially Radical Left, undergraduate courses in teacher education.

Chapter One

CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT POLICY ON INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION 1979-97

The Conservative Governments of 1979-1997 revolutionized Initial Teacher Education (ITE). ITE in England and Wales, both primary and secondary, was thoroughly restructured, regulated, re-oriented and relocated. Its form and content were recast. This was achieved through the classic Thatcherite combination of neo-liberal and neo-Conservative measures within the context of a series of media and social panics. New routes into teaching were established, instituting an embryonic neo-liberal market in ITE and breaking the professional monopoly held by higher education professionals. The highly interventionist Teacher Training Agency (TTA) was set up in 1994, replacing the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE). Finally, a neo-Conservative national curriculum was imposed incrementally, through the various CATE circulars of 1984, 1989, and 1992/93.

This curriculum, I shall argue, is technicist, anti-theoretical, anti-critical, school-focused and based on an apprenticeship pattern. Conservative curricular changes culminated in the highly detailed Draft National Curriculum put out for consultation by the RRA (TTA, 1997a-d) just prior to the Conservative Party's electoral defeat on May Day, 1997. (As will be seen in Chapter Five, this draft was substantially implemented by the New Labour government in its Circular 10/97, [DfEE, 1997a], and Circular 4/98 [DfEE, 1998a]. Furthermore, New Labour's proposals of 2001 [TTA, 2001b, c] are prepared to make little change, though there is a greater emphasis in the standards and the Handbook on issues of equal opportunity.)

The two pre-1988 routes of entry into teaching – the Higher Education Institution (HEI)-based BEd and PGCE courses – were supplemented by a number of shortened, and by six 'alternative' (i.e. non-HEI-based), routes into teaching.

Conservative ITE Policy: A Summary

Prior to 1984, Initial Teacher Education had been characterized by diversity, limited government control, and a common, though not universal, emphasis on educational theory (Wilkin, 1996; Furlong et al. 2000), with 'a slow trend towards professional relevance ... [and] professional autonomy'. (Furlong et al, 2000:21).

After 1984, and in particular after 1989, Conservative government policy comprised the setting up of a market in initial teacher training/education with a diversity of entry routes; the attempt to recompose the teaching force; and the introduction of a new, highly prescriptive and monitored 'National Curriculum' for HEI-based ITE.

Setting up a Market in Initial Teacher Training/Education with a Diversity of Entry Routes

Conservative governments added six new routes into teaching. In order of introduction these were: the Licensed Teacher scheme (which came into operation in 1989); the Articled Teacher scheme (which ran from 1989 to 1994), the Open University distance learning scheme, the two School Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) schemes (those with HEI involvement and those without) (1993); and the Overseas Trained Teacher scheme. In addition, there were a number of shortened and conversion courses for students with prior relevant experience and in shortage subjects such as Maths, Science, Design and Technology. (These two-year BEd, three-year BA /QTS, two-year part-time PGCE and two-year conversion PGCE courses are detailed in Furlong et al., 2000:46-48).

The SCITT schemes are school-based ITE for which consortia of schools are funded to recruit and train student teachers themselves. One type of scheme includes minimal HEI

involvement -for example, in quality control and course validation. The other type of SCITT scheme has no HEI involvement whatsoever (1).

In England and Wales, by the end of the Conservative period in government (1997) most ITE was still based in HEIs. (Indeed, in the academic year 2001-2, it still is [DfES, 2001a].) At undergraduate level this takes the form of four-year or three-year full-time undergraduate BEd (Bachelor of Education), BA.Ed. (Bachelor of Arts in Education) or BA(QTS) (BA with Qualified Teacher Status) courses. At postgraduate level it takes the form of the one-year full-time PGCE (Post-Graduate Certificate in Education).

In 1993-1994, 198 graduates started their SCITT training and a further 195 in 1994-95. (These are the composite figures for both types of SCITT scheme). In April 1997, 781 people had qualified from SCITT courses. The projected intake for 1997-8 was around 600, of whom three-quarters were secondary. SCITT then represented 1-2% of the primary ITT target, and 2-3% of secondary.

As can be seen from *Table 1.1 and Table 1.2*, in the three years 1992-3 to 1994-5 and for the first five alternative routes, approximately 1,300 Articled Teachers, and SCITT teachers and Open University PGCE student teachers, were listed in DfEE statistics as successfully completing their initial teacher training courses. In these same three years, approximately 1,300 Licensed Teachers were listed in DfEE statistics as having enrolled on initial teacher training courses. Thus, in the same period approximately 2,600 teachers gained their Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) through the new 'Alternative Routes'. This was 3% of the 87,300 total for the United Kingdom of Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs). However, by summer 1996 when the 'Alternative Routes' had come on stream, 1,823 NQTs were SCITT or OU trained, compared with a total of 26,262 HEI-based NQTs – 6.5% of the total. Since the figures for Licensed teachers completing or gaining their QTS are not included in the TTA October 1996 Survey, the percentage of NQTs trained through the new 'Alternative Routes' into teaching in 1996 was, as stated above, probably above 7% of all new NQTs.

By 1994, the Licensed Teacher Scheme had qualified 2,306 people as Licensed Teachers (LTs), approximately 70% of them graduates and 30% non-graduates, with nearly half from minority ethnic groups. Just under half were overseas-trained teachers, 12% were

indigenous non-graduates (Furlong et al, 2000:56). Thus, around 700 Licensed Teachers had by then received their QTS without having a degree. In 1994, 498 LTs gained Qualified Teacher Status (QTS). In that year, a further 367 embarked on Licensed Teaching. The Articled Teacher scheme attracted 1,159 entrants in its three years of entry (1990, 1991, 1992). The Open University distance learning PGCE had, by 1994, become the largest single provider of postgraduate ITE in the country (*TES*, 1994:12). The projected intake for 1997-98 for the Open University was around 300 primary and 850 secondary. This was 2-3% and 4-5% of national targets respectively (DfEETSTQ, 1997).

By 1996-1997, the last year of the Thatcher-Major governments, there were 10,111 student teachers on conventional undergraduate courses and 16,741 on PGCE courses (2). The projected target for Initial Teacher Training for 1997-8 was 11,050 primary and 19,500 secondary entrants into ITT courses (DfEETSTQ, 1997). Of these, around 2,150 were scheduled to train through 'alternative routes' into teaching introduced since 1988. This was around 7% of the total. This never reached the hope expressed by Margaret Thatcher (1993:598) that 'at least half of the new teachers' would) 'come through these or similar schemes, as opposed to teacher-training institutions'.

Table 1.1: Expected Number of NQTs Graduating or Certifying in 1996 from Different types of Routes into Teaching.

Undergraduate Primary (HEI based)	7955	(28.3 %)
Undergraduate Secondary (HEI based)	2313	(8.2%)
PGCE (Primary) (HEI based)	4069	(14.5%)
PGCE (Secondary) (HEI based)	11925	(42.5%)
Open University PGCE (Primary)	590	(2.1%)
Open University PGCE (Secondary)	678	(2.4%)
SCITT (Primary)	236	(0.8%)

(Continued overleaf)

Table 1.1: Expected Number of NQTs Graduating or Certifying in 1996 from Different types of Routes into Teaching (Continued)

SCITT (Secondary)	319	(1.1%)
TOTAL	28085	

Note: These statistics do not include Licensed Teachers or Overseas Trained Teachers.
Percentage total in brackets. (TTA, 1997b.)

Table 1.2: Number (in thousands) of Student Teachers Successfully Completing Different Routes into Teaching in Summer 1996 (in the United Kingdom)

	1992/3	1993/4	1994/5
Higher Education Institutions: Courses for Graduates.	16.8	17.5	20.4
of which Articled Teacher, Distance Learning and SCITT (England and Wales)	0.2	0.1	1.0
Higher Education Institutions: Courses for Undergraduates.	10.3	10.5	11.7
of which Licensed Teacher/ Overseas Teacher (England and Wales)	0.6	0.5	0.2
Total (Higher Education Institutions)	27.0	28.1	32.2

(DfEE, 1997c)

By 2001 there were approximately 1,300 teachers in schools who were on one or the other of the Alternative Routes into teaching (DfES, 2001a, Table1), though each year increases the number of serving teachers thus 'trained'. Furthermore, with the teacher shortage of 2001-2002 of considerable concern to the New Labour government in its second term of office, the Teacher Training Agency doubled the number of GTP places from the September 2000 figure of 548, to 1,016 for September 2001 (TTA, 2001:1).

The Attempt to Recompose the Teaching Force

Conservative Government policy was twofold. Firstly it was an attempt to solve the problem of teacher shortage experienced throughout the 1980s and 1990s, a problem which varied in acuteness. Secondly, policy was clearly intended to attract into teaching two *new types* of teacher, and re-stock the teaching force with new teachers differently constituted, in ideological terms, from teachers with initial professional socialisation mediated through BEd and PGCE HEI-based courses.

The *first* 'new' target group was ex-businessmen (sic) and ex-Armed Forces Personnel - that is, mature men and women variously accustomed to commercial and competitive-exploitative human relationships, and/or disciplinary/authoritarian relationships, whose approach to education (content and pedagogy) was likely to be instrumental, managerial, technical and vocational.

My own experience of interviewing students and discussing with student teachers over a twenty-five year period (3) indicates that former commercial and Armed Forces personnel wishing to embark on a three-or four-year undergraduate ITE degree course frequently claim to do so precisely to escape such competitive-exploitative and or disciplinary-authoritarian relationships, and opt for a four-year undergraduate 'professional' degree. This suggests a commitment to a teaching career *prior to commencing higher education* (unlike students who opt for a one-year postgraduate, school-based SCITT scheme, or a PGCE course, following a decision taken *after* starting higher education).

The *second* major group targeted by this Conservative Government recruitment tactic (for primary schools) was that of mothers. Not any mothers, such as those wishing to study for a four-year teaching qualification, but those 'Mums' who were happy or prepared to 'speed-train' as teachers and to *qualify at sub-degree level*. One example was the June 1993 proposal by (then) Minister of Education John Patten to recruit mothers with 'A' level qualifications. These had generally left school at 18. The plan was to crash-course train them in one year, instead of taking the four-year undergraduate BEd course required at the time. Such 'mums' army' courses would, in fact, have been of the same

duration as the (academically) lower-level, one-year Nursery Nurse courses, but the proposal was dropped after widespread criticism. (4).

However, with the STA (Specialist Teacher Assistant) scheme now in operation in England and Wales (since 1995), giving a one-year, mainly school-based training for Primary School assistants, many 'mums' who are not qualified teachers now work alongside teachers in Primary school classrooms.

Both groups targeted by the Thatcher-Major governments would share a number of characteristics: they would (i) be 'trained' rather than 'educated' (ii) be trained largely on-the-job in school (iii) learn mainly in an apprenticeship system (iv) do so without experiencing any *variety* of school ethos and style (v) have minimal opportunity to collaboratively critique and evaluate what they have seen or done, and (vi) be largely denied theoretical and analytical perspectives, other than those of their school mentor and class teacher. They would be 'trained' but not 'educated', trained to deliver but not educated to systematically question and evaluate (Hill, 1992a, b, c, 1993a, b, c, 1994a, c, 1997a). They would also, in some cases, (vii) be non-graduate. This would have clear implications for both their pay and their status in the staff room.

It is likely that such new recruits would differ from teachers undergoing a four-year BEd, or a three-year first degree plus a one-year PGCE, in terms of being relatively uneducated, unintellectual and – crucially for the Conservative Government – unaware of and uninducted into critiques of Conservative and non-Conservative views and philosophies of schooling and education.

Introduction of a New, Highly Prescriptive and Monitored 'National Curriculum' for HEI-based ITE

Formally, the Conservative Government did not issue a Consultation Document on what it termed a 'National Curriculum for Teacher Training' until 1997. However, it had in effect introduced one for both secondary and primary student teachers in 1989. This was through an interventionist process started in the CATE criteria (for the accreditation of teacher education courses) of 1984. Wilkin (1996) details the context and background to

this 1984 intervention, in particular the diversity of provision, a series of research investigations into provision, and Ministerial disquiet. Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education and Science declared, 'I am not satisfied with the present contents [of teacher training] ... and I intend to take action'. A particular concern was the 'jargon ridden theorizing' of the disciplines of education, which can be 'lamentable substitutes for serious thought and training' (Joseph, 1983:39, cited in Wilkin, 1996:149). (In the next chapter, I set out in detail the Radical Right concerns about teacher education). The 1989 criteria, in particular, defined the curriculum tightly and more prescriptively. This was achieved through the setting of ever more narrowly-defined competencies or, as New Labour was to redefine them, 'standards'.

The 1984 CATE Criteria

Thus, the first statutory change to ITE in England and Wales under the Conservative government (first elected in 1979) was the setting up of the Committee for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) to regulate and monitor ITE. This had been preceded by the 1983 White Paper, *Teacher Quality*, (DES, 1983; Wilkin, 1996) issued by Keith Joseph. CATE promulgated the first CATE criteria – regulations governing the validation of both primary and secondary ITE courses – in Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984).

In composition and brief, CATE was more rigidly controlled by the Government than its predecessor, the Advisory Committee for the Supply of Education and Training (ACSET). Whereas ACSET had represented the teaching and teacher education professions, CATE members were hand-picked by the Government (Wilkin, 1996). Appointments to CATE were to be made 'by the Secretaries of State on a personal basis'. (Wilkin, 1996:151).

List of the Main Aspects of the 1984 CATE Criteria

- Staff responsible for pedagogy in relevant institutions should return to schools periodically to have 'recent and relevant experience' of teaching in schools (para 2.2)
- Teachers should be involved in the planning, supervision, support and assessment of students' practical work in schools (para 3.3)

(Continued overleaf)

List of the Main Aspects of the 1984 CATE Criteria (Continued)

- Courses should be developed and run ... in close working partnership with ... schools (para 3.2)
- Serving teachers (were) to be involved with the interviewing of students (para 1.2)
- CATE has the power to close any courses which do not meet the criteria
- The amount of time for student teachers to spend in schools was defined for the first time.

Wilkin (1996), in her survey of teacher education policy from the 1960s to the 1990s, discusses Thatcherism and the CATE criteria of 1984 in depth. These criteria were, she notes, 'moderate in terms of curricular demands but unprecedented in terms of control' (Wilkin, 1996:148). This initial, pre-marketization phase of Thatcherite policy on ITE under Keith Joseph was aimed at controlling the content of the ITE curriculum.

It also saw 'the redistribution of power both overtly and covertly from the institutions to the schools' and the change to 'the practical nature of the criteria and the non-reflective (i.e. non-theorizing) mode' (Wilkin, 1996:151). The 'tactics embodied in the criteria', Wilkin suggests, 'reduce considerably the power of the theorists, the tutors, and ... enhance that of the practitioners, the teachers' (ibid: 151-2). Also, the CATE criteria established for the first time 'the right of the Secretary of State to have a say in the detailed content and structure of Initial Teacher Education in England' (Furlong et al, 2000:22).

The 1989 CATE Criteria

Throughout the 1980s, a variety of HMI reports (see Wilkin, 1996, Chapter 4), culminating in the HMI *New Teacher in School* Report of 1988, criticized aspects of teacher education such as deficient 'classroom management and control, identifying and making explicit the aims and objectives of lessons, matching work to the varied abilities of pupils' (para 1.38). (See Blake and Hill, 1995 for an analysis of the 1988 Report. This analysis is developed in detail in Chapter Three of this thesis).

In 1989, the 1984 CATE criteria for the accreditation of primary and secondary ITE courses were tightened up through CATE Circular 24/89 (DES, 1989a). Circular 24/89 was much more detailed than Circular 3/84 – twenty-seven pages as against ten. This

circular had the major effect of reducing the amount of time in BEd and PGCE courses for theoretical education studies, replacing student contact time with increased time for professional curriculum studies.

List of the Main Aspects of the 1989 CATE Criteria

- Powers of CATE extended. Local Committees to take on a supervisory (as opposed to an advisory) role in Initial Teacher Education, reviewing new or amended courses and ensuring that courses 'continue to satisfy the new criteria'.
- Local committees of CATE to include in their membership 'non-teacher-training academic staff, business and other outside interests' (para 8), the chair being independent of higher education, and HEI representatives in a minority.
- Lecturers responsible for pedagogy to spend a specified amount of 'recent and relevant' time in schools – the equivalent of one term every five years.
- The amount of time spent by student teachers in schools increased to 75 days for one, two and three-year courses, to 100 days for four-year courses, and to 75 days for PGCE courses, which were increased in length from 36 to 38 weeks (see *Table 1.3* below).
- Students required to learn about the economic foundations of society and the part played by education in preparing pupils for the world of work (para 6.1).
- All four parts of the ITE curriculum were given statutory guidance. Academic 'Subject Studies' to be related to the National Curriculum for schools (and some subjects, such as Sociology, were deemed inappropriate for entry to ITE courses); 'Primary Curriculum Studies' courses must include 100 hours of Maths and English, 'Education and Professional Studies' given a list of prescribed topics, and 'School Experience' had its time increased.
- Development of a full list of 'competences' to be achieved by student teachers (para 16).

Furlong et al consider that HEIs were still left 'leading' the school-HEI relationships, 'it was they who were to be responsible for leading and managing the new partnerships', yet 'they were now to be overseen and their expertise was to be directed towards areas centrally defined'. (Furlong et al, 2000: 23). Despite this 'leading role', the CATE criteria of 1984 and 1989, together with the introduction of new routes into ITE, established a system of external accountability in ITE, 'a more practically focused professionalism by

opening up training courses to the realities of the 'market' of school' (Furlong et al, 2000:25), and an outcome-based ITE curriculum.

Indeed, this surveillance was for the first time directed at monitoring the outcomes for student teachers to gain Qualified Teacher Status. For the first time these were expressed in terms of competences. Wilkin notes that 'Circular 24/89 include[s] in the curriculum the competences which materially represent the central ideology' (Wilkin, 1996:157).

It is interesting, in the light of the subsequent debate about the 'equiphobia' of the Conservative Government, that at this stage CATE retained a concern for equal opportunities, requiring that 'courses should also cover the school in its wider context, including issues of culture, gender and race' (DES, 1989a:para 6.7 iii). The criteria were expressed, however, as general criteria. And, as noted above, the length of the annex specifying those competences expected of newly qualified teachers is only four pages. They were certainly broad enough to allow the Radical Left course design and implementation, for example, of the Crawley BEd course of 1990-1995 described in Chapter Eight. In contrast, Circulars 9/92 and 14/93 were to be more restrictive and prescriptive. Among their effects was the demise and replacement of the Crawley BEd course.

The 1992 and 1993 CATE Criteria

Writing about the period prior to the 1992/1993 Circulars on ITE, Whitty was able to say that 'at most, we in teacher education in Britain have as yet experienced only mild versions of the approach to education reform that characterized the Thatcher years' (Whitty, 1993:263). This was to change dramatically. Following his speech to the North of England Conference in 1992 (Clarke, 1992a), Secretary of State for Education Kenneth Clarke issued CATE Circular 9/92 for Secondary BEd and PGCE courses which are considerably more prescriptive than the 1989 CATE criteria (DFE, 1992a).

Similarly, in November 1993 the Secretary of State John Patten issued CATE Circular 14/93 (DFE, 1993a), which substantially reorganized and prescribed the content, organization and location of Primary BEd and PGCE courses (5).

List of the Main Aspects of the 1992/93 CATE Criteria

- HEI to lose funds to schools.
- Schools to 'lead' in the teacher education process, having 'a leading responsibility for training students to teach their specialist subjects, to assess pupils and to manage classes; and for supervising and assessing their competences in these respects'. (DFE, 1992a: para 14)
- Schools can undertake training independent of HEIs.
- CATE to be replaced by the Teacher Training Agency (TTA), all members to be appointed by the Secretary of State.
- Competences now to govern training for 'institutions, schools and students themselves should focus on these competences throughout the whole period of initial training'.
- Student teacher time in school to be further increased. The amount of time students should spend 'on the premises' of partner schools was to be 66% for most secondary courses and around 50% for most primary ones.

These changes 'involved a major restructuring of the organization and curriculum of Initial Teacher Education', in particular 'a much more concerted attempt than hitherto to curtail the power of those in Initial Teacher Education and increase the role of schools'. (Furlong et al, 2000:67, 68). For Wilkin, this

reconstructed map of training exemplifies the ideology of Thatcherism. There is a market in training with a variety of courses from which to choose and it is the responsibility of the market to ensure that this market operates efficiently. It will do this through the distribution of funding ... the outcome will be a cheaper system. (1996: 178).

It was also the triumph of technicism over theory, with a heavily specified and circumscribed 'official' list of competences, and with 'the introduction of the new circulars in 1992 and 1993, the use of competences in designing, undertaking and assessing Initial Teacher Education ceased to be optional in England and Wales'. (Furlong et al, 2000:70). The two circulars required student teachers (and HEIs and schools) to focus on the competences throughout the whole period of Initial Teacher Education.

In 1994 CATE was replaced by the Teacher Training Agency. Significantly, note Mahoney and Hextall, it included two appointments identified as having explicit connections with 'New Right think tanks' (2000: 18), although the well publicised views of the two, Anthony O'Hear and Caroline Cox (set out in Chapter Two, and in Partington, 1999) that 'teacher training' should focus on 'the subject knowledge and ... practical skills' (DES, 1989a: 5) were guiding features of the CATE 1989 criteria (albeit expressed in general terms only).

This was to change. The Conservative Education Minister, Gillian Shephard, announced in September 1996 that all student teachers entering Primary teacher training in 1997

will have to follow a curriculum which for the first time explicitly prescribes what they should learn and how they should teach it ... The Minister asked the Teacher Training Agency to design a draft core curriculum for Primary English and Maths by the new year. This would take effect from next September, with the curriculum for secondary English and Maths, plus Science for all age groups following in 1998. (Gardiner, 1996).

The National Curriculum was to cover knowledge of subjects, choice of subjects to be taught, effective teaching and assessment methods, and standards of achievement expected of pupils (Tysome, 1996). A Consultation Paper on Gillian Shephard's 'new National Curriculum for Primary teachers' was issued in February 1997 (for the detailed outline requirements see TTA, 1997a-d).

This was accepted substantially by the incoming New Labour government of May 1997. The criteria for Initial Teacher Education became longer and longer as the National Curriculum for schools became shorter and shorter. New Labour's Circular 10/97, *Teaching: High Status, High Standards: requirements for Courses of Initial Teacher Training* (DfEE, 1997a), is 46 pages long plus annexes. The 1998 version, Circular 4/98 (DfEE, 1998a), which includes annexes, is 138 pages long.

One pronounced feature of policy and circulars since 1989 is the introduction of competency-based criteria – termed, for the first time 'competences' in the 1992 Criteria and termed 'Standards' in the Conservative's Draft Criteria of 1997, a nomenclature

continued by New Labour. (See Chapter Five for the New Labour amendments to the Conservative Draft National Curriculum for Teacher Training, which either diminish or reinforce Conservative Party 'Standards', and for developments after May 1997, including the similarities and differences between the Conservative and New Labour proposals.)

Effects on the ITE Curriculum

The restrictive effects of such tight specifications are evident in the four crucial areas of ITE course content, funding, location and ideological orientation.

The Content of BEd/ BA(QTS) and PGCE Courses – Domination by the National Curriculum for Schools.

Under the CATE criteria of 1989 and 1992/93, the content and objectives – or *input* – for BEd, BA(QTS) and PGCE courses became more rigidly circumscribed than at any other time in living memory. The ITE curriculum was locked into the schools' National Curriculum, ensuring that student teachers were to learn how to teach the relevant (school) National Curriculum subject(s). In itself, this was not a contentious requirement, but the criteria also, as I shall go on to argue, *excluded* other forms of learning from the ITE curriculum, or considerably marginalized them.

Significant changes occurred in the content of BEd and PGCE courses following CATE Circular 13/89. These continued in exaggerated form after the promulgation of CATE Circulars 9/92 and 14/93. Emphasis on and time for education issues such as 'race', gender, sexuality, special needs and social class factors in schooling were reduced. So too were policy responses to counter stereotyping and educational under-achievement; the ideological and political analysis of classroom and school pedagogy, and of national policy and legislation (such as the 1988 Education Reform Act, Opting Out, the National Curriculum, Assessment). Progressively, the 'squeeze' on time for 'education' courses affected issues such as bullying, styles of classroom management,

child abuse and the study of cross-curricular issues. This resulted in courses described by the *TES* editorial of 20 September 1996 as 'Basics Training'. (*TES*, 1996b).

At Brighton Polytechnic (now University) and at West Sussex Institute of Higher Education (renamed Chichester Institute of Higher Education, then University College, Chichester), core course units validated under the 1984 CATE Criteria, which had focused on contextual and egalitarian issues in education, were replaced in the late 1980s (set out in Hill, 1989). Their content and concepts became, under the 1989 and then the 1992/93 CATE Criteria, less visible in the successor BA (QTS) courses at both institutions. Maguire (1993) and Gardiner (1995) describe similar occurrences at 'Sacred Heart' (i.e. St. Mary's, Twickenham) College of Higher Education and Roehampton Institute of Higher Education, as do various surveys and analyses of developments in Initial Teacher Education over this period (e.g. Barrett et al, 1992; Reid, Constable and Griffiths, 1994; Wilkin and Sankey, 1994; Whitty, 1992, 1993, 1997; Wilkin, 1996; Whiting et al, 1996; Furlong et al, 2000).

Indeed, one major component of the critical analysis of education -the Sociology of Education -all but disappeared from undergraduate and ITE courses for PGCE. Ivan Reid and Frank Parker describe 'a marked decline in the opportunities to confront student teachers with aspects of the sociology of education' (Reid and Parker, 1995:400)

The decline can be seen in the comparison of two CATE circulars. In 1984, the CATE criteria for the initial phase of teacher education, set out in Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984), called for students to be prepared for pupils of 'diversity of ability, behaviour, social background and ethnic and cultural origins within the criteria for the Initial phase of teacher education'. Yet the CATE circular 9/92 (DFE, 1992a) for the secondary phase of initial teacher training reserves these topics, traditionally addressed by the sociology of education, for 'Further Professional Development' -that is, reserves them for development *after the initial phase of teacher education*.

In addition, Circular 9/92 states that the 'newly qualified should have acquired ... the necessary foundation to develop ... an awareness of individual differences, including social, psychological, developmental and cultural dimensions' (para 2.6.4). Mention is also made of special needs (para 2.6.6), gifted pupils (para 2.6.5) and 'an

understanding of the school as an institution and its place within the community' (para 2.6.1). There are few such competencies prescribed for the *initial* stage of teacher education. They are, effectively, lost among the rest.

However, these changes were not immediately universal. For example, at Nene University College (now University College Northampton) the four-year BEd Primary degree developed under the Circular 14/93 CATE Criteria included a specific module on Equal Opportunities, together with a fourth-year option choice of Sociology of Education and Psychology of Education. These disappeared from the four-year Bed at the end of the 1998-99 academic year – prior, in fact, to the replacement and demise of the four-year BEd degree. The successor three-year BA(QTS) module, which commenced in September 1998, contained, at first, a module on Equal Opportunities. This was deleted after two years. It is only in the year commencing September 2000 that in the Professional Studies strand of the three-year primary BA(QTS) that discrete content on social class and education, 'race', racism and education, and gender and education have been deleted to make way for content to meet mandated 'standards'. This local detail shows the 'messiness' of national trends – but exemplifies the trends themselves.

Funding, Control and Staffing of ITE

CATE inspections, TTA controls over HEI providers of ITE, the introduction of quality-rating systems and the move to competence-led assessment, all combined to provide greater surveillance over course *outputs*, and greater self-monitoring by student teachers and their teacher educators, than prior to the introduction of the 1992 and 1993 CATE criteria, and prior to the setting up of the TTA. Since the *funding* of individual ITE providing institutions is related to meeting these tightly prescriptive performance indicators, the HEIs are very keen to collude with CATE and, subsequently, with TTA guidelines and requirements.

The Conservative re-structuring of ITE diverted funding for ITE away from HEIs and toward schools, a move that substantially reduced the human, equipment, and research resources of ITE HEIs. Not only were funds diverted to school-based SCITT schemes,

but, according to UCETT, 'Postgraduate Certificate in Education programmes in Universities and colleges were out of pocket because of the introduction of inflated fund weighting for the exclusively school-based SCITT programmes' (Baty, 1997). Similar concerns were expressed by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals. The TTA replied 'the fact that the schools programmes were new had to be taken into account' (idem).

This transfer of funds from HEIs to schools cut the income of HEIs significantly, and was accompanied by a reduction in the government-funded fee element per capita funding for undergraduate ITE students. For 1994-1995, HEI income was cut almost by 50%, from c. £1300 per student per annum to c. £700.

For HEIs, changes in the BEd and PGCE course curricula, a reduction in funding per student and the competition from non-HEI-based routes into teaching brought a considerable reduction in lecturing staff specializing in education and professional studies in the ITE sector. Not only were such (potentially or actually) oppositional intellectuals and professionals circumscribed, many were made redundant. In 1994 the *TES* reported that Warwick University had lost 16 staff in order to pay the standard amount of £1,000 per year per student to schools; also that 'Exeter University will have to lose 12 posts' and 'South Bank University is pulling out of postgraduate teacher training' (*TES*, 1994:12). Furlong et al estimate that in the secondary field, ITE institutions had to 'shift' approximately 25% of their grant income after the 1992 CATE circular. After student fees were introduced, this income became derived from both TTA grants for ITT and student fees for ITT courses (currently, in 2000-2001, a means-tested £1,025 per student). Whatever the source, ITT providers now bear the cost of supporting school-HEI partnerships.

Other members of staff were steered away from teaching 'Education Issues' courses. At Chichester Institute of Higher Education, for example, it was estimated that the cumulative effect of funding and ITE curriculum changes would be a reduction of 'Education' lecturers of 25-30%, between 1994-95 and 1996-97. By January 1996 ChiHE was paying £250,000 per annum in fees to schools in return for student placements and school teacher mentoring. By March 1996 it was seeking six redundancies among education lecturers. By August 1996 I had been made redundant,

and Chris Gaine, the nationally renowned specialist on 'race' and education, had been redeployed for half of his timetable to a different School within Chichester Institute of Higher Education, as had the specialist in special needs and education (Hill, 1997c, d, e).

It was not simply that individuals and their particular expertise were made redundant: the physical, written and informational resources with which they were associated were also lost. The resource collection on 'Race' Equality, for example, built up at Chichester Institute of Higher Education over ten years, was closed down and dismembered in summer 1996.

The Location of HEI-Based ITE Courses

The Conservative restructuring of ITE cut the time spent in a college/HEI by students. This was partly occasioned by an increase in time spent in school, and partly by an overall cost-cutting exercise reducing student-tutor contact time.

The *location* of student teacher experience during ITE courses, i.e. where they spend their time during term, became, for far longer periods, located in schools rather than in college/HEI (see *Table 1.3* below.) This move complemented the new school-based courses (set out above) which took some ITE out of Colleges/Universities altogether (as with some SCITT schemes), or virtually altogether (as with other schemes). The section of the 1994 Education Bill stating that school-based teacher training schemes need have no validation by, or connection with, HEIs was defeated in the House of Lords in March 1994, but was re-inserted and re-asserted in the House of Commons. The intention of the Conservative government to facilitate the divorce of ITE from higher education was clear. By April 1997, one SCITT scheme had no links whatsoever with HE.

There were significant changes in the minimum number of days to be spent by ITE students in schools, and the maximum time left for HEI-based work (Hill, 1993a, 1994a). The changes between 1989 and 1997 can be seen from *Table 1.3* below. The time spent in school by undergraduate student teachers on four-year primary and secondary ITE courses increased from 20 to 32 weeks. This is equivalent to one half of the 'professional strand' of their ITE course, i.e. that part which is connected to their preparation as

teachers. (Students on four-year undergraduate ITE course have, under the 1989 CATE Criteria [DES, 1989a] spent the equivalent of two out of their four years on the 'subject study' of an academic subject). For Secondary PGCE students it became mandatory to spend a minimum of 24 weeks of their 36-week course in schools. For Primary PGCE students the requirement was to spend a minimum of 18 weeks in schools during a 38-week course. New Labour was to maintain the balance of school-based and HEI-based time established by the Conservative criteria of 1992/93. Student teachers on school-based schemes such as Articled Teacher, Licensed Teacher and some – but not all – SCITT schemes, of course, continued to attend some HEI-based sessions as part of their courses.

As the number of weeks in college was cut, so too was the tutor contact time per student. For example at Chichester Institute of Higher Education, students on the Secondary and on the Primary BA (QTS) routes had, on the BA/QTS course which started in September 1993, 12 hours contact time per week with staff for HEI courses. This is less than half the contact time of student teachers on the preceding BEd, whose last cohort graduated in September 1995.

On the ChiHE Secondary and Primary BA (QTS) courses that started in September 1993, there were just three 30-hour modules (out of 18 Professional/ Education modules i.e. the Education/ Professional half of the degree which enables students to examine contextual, sociological, political and macro issues). This compares to six 30-hour modules on their predecessor courses.

Table 1.3: Initial Teacher Education Courses: Time in School, Time in College and Length of Courses

	Secondary BEd	Primary BEd	Secondary PGCE	Primary PGCE	Weeks to be spent in School and in College
i CATE CRITERIA (DES) 1984	No specific- ation	No guidance	No specific- ation	No specific- ation	School min College max Length
ii CATE CRITERIA (DES) 1989	20wks 46wks 4 yr*	20wks 46wks 4 yr* 15wks 33wks 3 yr	15wks 21wks 36wks	15wks 21wks 36wks	School min College max Length School min College max Length
iii LICENSED TEACHER SCHEME 1989	Not applicable	Not applicable	Nearly total minimal	Nearly total minimal	School min College max Length

(Continued overleaf)

Table 1.3: Initial Teacher Education courses: Time in School, Time in College and Length of Courses (Continued)

	Secondary BEd	Primary BEd	Secondary PGCE	Primary PGCE	Weeks to be spent in School and in College
iv ARTICLED TEACHER SCHEME 1989	Not applicable	Not applicable	58 14 2 yr (72wks)	58 14 2 yr (72wks)	School min College max Length
v MOTE SURVEY 1: 1990-91 i.e. What was actually happening in 1990-91	26wks 40wks 4 yr*	26wks 40wks 4 yr*	ave. 18wks ave. 18wks 36wks	ave. 18wks ave. 18wks 36wks	School min College max Length
vi JOHN PATTEN/ DFE CIRCULAR 9/92 MAY 1992 (SECOND- ARY BEd AND PGCE)	32wks 32wks 4 yr*	Not applicable	24wks 12wks 36wks	Not applicable	School min College max Length

(Continued overleaf)

Table 1.3: Initial Teacher Education courses: Time in School, Time in College and Length of Courses (Continued)

	Secondary BEd	Primary BEd	Secondary PGCE	Primary PGCE	Weeks to be spent in School and in College
vii JOHN PATTEN DFE CIRCULAR 14/93 (PRIMARY BEd AND PGCE)	Not applicable	32wks 32wks 4 yr 24wks 24wks 3 yr	Not applicable	18wks 20wks 38wwks	School min College max Length School min College max Length
viii INFANT TEACHING PROPOSAL (withdrawn) JUNE 1993	18wks 14wks 1 yr	Not applicable	Not applicable	Not applicable	School min College max Length
ix SCHOOL-CENTRED INITIAL TEACHER TRAINING (SCITT)	Not applicable	Not applicable	Primarily minimal or none	Primarily minimal or none	School min College max Length

(Continued overleaf)

Table 1.3: Initial Teacher Education courses: Time in School, Time in College and Length of Courses (Continued)

	Secondary BEd	Primary BEd	Secondary PGCE	Primary PGCE	Weeks to be spent in School and in College
x					
CIRCULAR 10/97 and	32 wks	32 wks	24wks	18wks	School min
	32 wks	32 wks	12wks	20wks	College max
	4yrs	4yrs	36wks	38wks	Length
CIRCULAR 4/98 (New Labour Government)	24wks	24wks			School min
	24wks	24wks			College max
	3yr	3yr			Length
xi					
NEW LABOUR CONSULT- ATION (July 2001)	32wks	32wks	24wks	18wks	School min
	32wks	32wks	12wks	20wks	College max
	3yr	3yr	36wks	38wks	Length

** Under the CATE Criteria of 1989, four-year BEd courses included 2 years study at degree level of one or two academic subjects. The length of professional (i.e. related to teaching) training on BEd courses was therefore two years. This two years, on this table, is then divided in school-based and college-based components.*

Sources:

i DES, 1984; ii.DES, 1989a; iii.DES, 1989b; iv DES, 1989c; v.Barrett et al, 1992;
Furlong et al, 2000; vi.DFE, 1992a; vii DFE, 1993a; viii. DFE, 1993c; ix DFE, 1993b; x
DfEE, 1997a; DfEE 1998a; xi TTA 2001b, c.

The Ideology of BEd/BA(QTS) and PGCE Courses – the Conservative ITE Curriculum.

The Conservative restructuring of ITE severely circumscribed alternative liberal-progressive and social democratic, and oppositional socialist-egalitarian principles and practices. This *conservative circumscription* can be seen as part of an attempt to remove critique, oppositional thought and analysis from the 'official knowledge' (Apple, 1993a, b; 1996a) of the ITE curriculum. ITE became a major site of ideological struggle (Furlong et al, 2000:9). As part of this process, the type of reflection engaged in by teachers became primarily restricted to '*technical reflection*' (reflection on techniques of teaching and communication/ organization skills). As I argue in the following Chapter, this was deliberate Radical Right policy with a marked effect on the practice and the mode of 'reflection' of teacher education. (6). In Chapter Five, I argue that this is a policy scarcely contested by New Labour in government.

Notes

1. The SCITT scheme (DfE, 1993b) legislated for the first time in a generation for the separation of some school-centred teacher training from higher education. These 'alternative routes' were to have been further supplemented by the one-year trained non-graduate (Mums' army) for infant teaching (Pyke, 1993a, b, c) which was dropped. Its replacement, a one-year programme for 'Specialist Teaching Assistants' (STAs), provided a new route into teaching, but with inferior status and pay.
2. These statistics, and those for teacher recruitment and qualification, are taken from the DfEE, 1997c; TTA, 1997c. Statistics from the DfEE (DfEE, 1997d) indicate the following number of Licensed Teachers and Overseas Trained Teachers (both categories without QTS) in maintained (i.e. state) schools, as follows: 1990, 20; 1991, 0; 1992, 1059; 1993, 1083; 1994, 834; 1995, 664; 1996, 467. These figures do not indicate how many LTs gained QTS. These are shown, in approximate form, in *Table 1.2*. Government (CATE) circular 14/93 on Primary Teacher Education encouraged the development of three-year Primary undergraduate ITE Courses to replace four-year courses, in particular for what it termed 'generalist' as opposed to 'specialist' Primary teachers. A number of three-year BA (QTS) courses are now in operation.
3. Between 1986 and 1990 I was course deputy leader, with responsibility for the secondary PGCE at West Sussex Institute of Higher Education (WSIHE). Between 1990 and 1995 I led a four-year BEd Primary (the Crawley BEd) for 170 Mature and Non-Standard Entry students, run jointly by West Sussex Institute of Higher Education and Crawley College of Technology). For 1995-96 I was *de facto* Field Leader for the Secondary BA(QTS) at Chichester Institute of Higher Education (ChIHE). Between 1996 and 1997 I taught on an Access into Primary Teaching course at Tower Hamlets College. Since September 1997, I have been teaching Education Studies on a Combined Honours degree course at Nene College of Higher Education, (now University College Northampton), though with some limited teaching on the BA(QTS) course and on the Bed course (until it was replaced by a three year BA(QTS) course). I also guest lecture on ITE courses at the University of Brighton.
4. The last time such a scheme was tried in Western Europe was in Portugal in 1936. The Fascist Salazar government, despairing like the Thatcher-Major governments over the oppositional proclivities of school teachers, and the cost of educating/training them, instituted a system of 'regentes escolares' (school regents). These were women of church-going, middle class background (Cipriano Estrela, 1994) who themselves had only four years of primary education. They were crash-coursed in one year and sent to teach after minimal training and education (Stoer, 1986:48-49). Three-year primary teacher training courses and colleges were closed, as 'pedagogical objectives' for teachers of primary schools were a 'waste of time, money and intelligence'. Stoer goes on to note that 'the emphasis in (teacher training) curricula was on the removal of anything that might have, even remotely, 'problematized' education'. (ibid: 48-49). By 1940, 18% of primary school teachers were 'regentes', with a salary less than that of school caretakers (Corteseo, 1982:101, quoted in Stoer, 1986:48).
5. Circular 14/93 (DFE, 1993a) substantially adopted proposals set out in earlier 1993 Consultation papers (DFE, 1993c). These Primary criteria became mandatory for all Primary ITE courses from September 1995. (The major change following the

consultation process was the dropping of the proposal for a non-graduate, one-year trained 'mums army' for infant teaching).

6. The three levels of reflection suggested by Zeichner and Liston (1987) are *Technical Reflection*, *Situational or Contextual Reflection*, and *Critical Reflection*. They are discussed in detail in Chapter Four of this thesis. See also Adler, 1991; Hill, 1992c, 1994a: 228-231, 1997a.

Chapter Two

RADICAL RIGHT DISCOURSE AND THE JUSTIFICATION OF POLICY ON INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION

I now consider how the Conservative Government restructuring of ITE (1979-97) derives from Radical Right theory and ideology. In Chapter Seven I engage in a critique of the Radical Right project in education and its relationship to the needs and demands of global and national capital. In this chapter, I am concerned to define its principles.

Sixteen Radical Right (Societal Level) Ideological Themes

It is possible to identify sixteen wide (societal level) ideological themes recurring in Radical Right ideology, principles and policy (see Hill, 1999a, 2001d). These are set out in Table 2.1, below.

Table 2.1 Sixteen Radical Right (Societal level) Ideological Themes

1. Pro-Individualism
2. Pro-Privatisation and Private Enterprise, anti-Public Sector
3. Pro-Market Competition and Consumer Choice
4. Pro-Monitoring, Measurement and Surveillance of public welfare, social and educational services
5. Pro-Cost Reduction/ profit/ cheapness/reducing costs of products and public services
6. Anti-Professional 'producer power'
7. Pro-Tradition and Traditional Family
8. Pro-Back to Basics
9. Pro-Nationalism and 'Britishness'
10. Anti-anti-racism
11. Pro-Authority, Order and Social Control
12. Pro-Elite (Social, Cultural, Economic)
13. Pro-Hierarchy and Social Differentiation
14. Anti-liberal progressivism
15. Anti-socialist/Marxism
16. Anti-theoretical bias and emphasis on the practical

Of these, six are the neo-liberal (or 'free marketeer') themes of *individualism*, *privatisation/ private enterprise*, *market competition/consumer choice*, *surveillance of public services*, *cost reduction of public services*, and *anti-producer power*. There are six neo-conservative (or 'traditionalist'/ social authoritarian) themes - *tradition and traditional family*, *'back to basics'*, *nation*, *monoculturalism regarding 'race'*, *authority, order and social control*, *elitism* and *hierarchicalism*.

The remaining four themes are appropriate to both neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. These are the themes of *derision*, *distrust and disrespect for public services*, *socialist/Marxist egalitarianism*, *liberal-progressivism*, and *for the theory purporting to underlie what the Radical Right see as essentially practical activities*,

such as teaching and Initial Teacher Education. The concomitant therefore of the anti-theoretical bias of Thatcherism is an emphasis on *practice*.

This list of sixteen themes is not exclusive, but shows those dominant in relation to education (Lawton, 1994, and Giddens, 1998, have similar, though not identical lists) (1). These are readily apparent in a variety of salient Radical Right texts on education, such as Boyson (1990), Clarke (1992b), *Daily Mail* (1982, 1992), Halpin (1997), Hillgate Group (1986, 1987, 1989), Joseph (1983), Lawlor (1990a, b, 1992), Major (1993), O'Hear (1988, 1990, 1991a b), O'Keeffe (1986, 1990a, b), Partington (1999), Patten (1993), Sexton (1987), Shaw (1986), Shephard (in Carvel, 1997), *Sunday Express* (1991), Thatcher (1993), *The Sun* (1989), Trend (1988) (2).

Radical Right core principles are apparent in the targeting of Initial Teacher Education. As far as members of the Radical Right were concerned, some 'teacher training colleges' were simply being too successful in developing, disseminating and reproducing liberal progressive values, or socialist egalitarian values. From the Radical Right, Michael Trend (1988), the Hillgate Group (1989) and Margaret Thatcher (1993) all criticized 'The Social Contexts of Learning' course run by Mike Cole at the (then) Brighton Polytechnic, though they did not name him (3).

Thatcher wrote in her memoirs, in reaction to Mike Cole's course:

there was the need to radically improve teacher training. Unusually, I had sent a personal minute to Ken Baker in November 1988 expressing my concerns. I said we must go much further in this area and asked him to bring forward proposals ... There was still too little emphasis on factual knowledge of the subjects teachers needed to teach, too little practical classroom experience acquired and too much stress on the sociological and psychological aspects. For example, I could barely believe the contents of one of the BEd courses – duly approved by CATE – at Brighton Polytechnic about which one concerned Tory supporter sent in details. Entitled 'Contexts for Learning', this course claimed to be enabling teachers to come to terms with such challenging questions as 'To what extent do schools reinforce gender stereotypes?' It continued: 'students are then introduced to the debate between protagonists of (4) education (sic) and those who advocate anti-racist education'. I felt the protagonists of education had the better case.

The effective monopoly exercised by the existing teacher training routes had to be broken ... There was no evidence that there would be a large enough inflow of teachers (from the Licensed Teacher and the Articled Teacher schemes) ... significantly to change the ethos and raise the standards of the profession. So I had Brian Griffiths begin work on how to increase the numbers: we wanted to see at least half of the new teachers come through these or similar schemes, as opposed to teacher-training institutions. (Thatcher, 1993: 598).

Considerable antagonism was expressed against 'teacher training colleges' from the Prime Minister downwards. Conservative Ministerial rhetoric on education reached a public climax at the 1992 Conservative Party Conference. Prime Minister John Major proclaimed:

When it comes to education, my critics say I'm 'old fashioned'. Old fashioned? Reading and writing? Old fashioned? Spelling and sums? Great literature – and standard English Grammar? Old fashioned? Tests and tables? British history? A proper grounding in science? Discipline and self respect? Old fashioned? I also want reform of teacher training. Let us return to basic subject teaching, not courses in the theory of education. Primary teachers should learn to teach children how to read, not waste their time on the politics of race, gender and class. (Major, 1993: 144).

At the same conference John Patten, the Secretary of State for Education, declared that 'All too often the problems in education lie – not with parents, not with teachers – but with 1960s 'theorists, with the trendy left and with the teachers union bosses'. (Patten, 1993:146).

Introducing the February 1997 Consultation National Curriculum for Primary Teacher Training, Gillian Shephard asserted as Secretary of State for Education and Employment that:

Through no fault of their own, teachers are being allowed to leave some teacher training colleges without the essential knowledge to ensure all pupils learn basic literacy and numeracy skills ... Young people are impressed by image. I think that if they perceive that a teacher regards his or her work as important enough to warrant smart dress and good presentation then young people will accept teaching. (Carvel, 1997).

The restructuring of Initial Teacher Education (and of schooling) has been accompanied by a discursive assault at four levels. The first level was the radical right *media* (in particular the *Daily Mail* and *Mail on Sunday*). The second level was the radical right *ideologists, think-tanks and academics*. The third level was *Ministerial* – the Conservative Education Ministerial teams. This culminated in the Prime Ministerial and Ministerial speeches at the 1992 Conservative Party Conference, in the salience of teacher education in the Government's November 1993 legislative programme, and in the Conservative campaign for the 1997 General Election. The fourth level was the *official*. During the term of office of Chris Woodhead as Chief Inspector of Schools, the other three levels were supplemented by an official Radical Right level of discourse replacing the previous, arguably non-partisan official discourse of HMI and Ofsted.

The four levels of discourse used to validate such changes (media, academic/ideological, ministerial and official) are aimed, to an extent, at different audiences, so they might be expected to use very different vocabularies, sentence structures and sentence lengths. While there are differences, in general they do not. All deride 'trendies' and 'progressivism' in education. All use populist, punchy, and social panic metaphors.

Attacks on teacher education were preceded by thirty years of Radical Right attacks on democratic, egalitarian and progressive schooling and education (Ball, 1990b; Hill, 1989, 1990; Gilroy, 1992; Gaine, 1995). In addition to a discourse of derision (Ball, 1990b, 2001; Wallace, 1993) (5) about egalitarian education, the above three examples, among many others, have been part of a '*discourse of treachery*' (Hill, 1994d). This '*discourse of treachery*' scapegoated teachers and teacher educators as 'trendies', the 'loony left' and also 'the enemy within'. Teacher educators – and the teachers they 'produce' – were frequently termed incompetent. For example, Chief Inspector of Schools, Chris Woodhead demanded the dismissals of 15,000 'incompetent' teachers.

In particular, the Radical Right of the Conservative Party has viscerally abhorred two types of ideology. The first target of their attack over a long period has been the *liberal, child-centred, progressivist* ideology (6) and credo, most famously and influentially set out in the Plowden Report of 1967 (CACE, 1967). This was for so long the claimed 'Bible' and, arguably the dominant ideology in ITE and of progressive primary

education. (This is discussed further in Chapter Four). The Report also had a significant presence within secondary ITE. Indeed, throughout the 1970s and 1980s a number of undergraduate and postgraduate ITE courses combined primary and secondary student teachers for the education studies parts of their courses, for example at West Sussex Institute of Higher Education.

The *oppositional* ideology that the Conservative Governments have sought to destroy is radical socialist/ Marxist egalitarianism (7). Conservative governments systematically tried to delegitimize, marginalise or remove socialist-egalitarian principles and practices from ITE (and from schooling and classroom). This *socialist, Radical Left egalitarianism* – with its anti-elitism, redistributionism, its stress on democracy and on overtly confronting racism, sexism, homophobia, social class inequalities, and discrimination against the disabled and those with special needs in schooling and society – is anathema to the Radical Right.

Indeed, in terms of egalitarian pedagogy, in the valuing and affirming of children's domestic culture against, or in addition to, elite culture, and in terms of formal curriculum content, a number of 'teacher training college' and University departments of education were, in the late 1970s and 1980s, arguably centres of resistance against Thatcherite and post-Thatcherite ideology.

I would classify the Education Department at West Sussex Institute of Higher Education (WSIHE) as a centre of such resistance in the late 1980s. While not all members of the department shared a strongly socialist anti-Thatcherite perspective and commitment, the dominant ideology was, for a few years, strongly committed not only to anti-sexism and anti-racism, but also to decreasing social class inequalities. And WSIHE is in the 'white highlands'!

Various inner-city universities and other HEIs were much more obviously centres of resistance to Thatcherite policies and values. And a number of ITE Education Departments, together with schools and Further Education Colleges, did become poster sites for a variety of protests, for example against deportations of immigrants deemed to be illegal, against financial cuts, against the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority, and against other Conservative legislation.

With respect to ITE there *is* empirical evidence to substantiate such Conservative fears that teacher educators – and teachers – are oppositional. Some lecturers are indeed socialist, many (probably most) are centrist/ social democratic/ liberal democratic, or one-nation liberal Conservatives. Very few indeed appear to subscribe to the Thatcherite and post-Thatcherite Radical Right ideology. Few lecturers, for example, expressed their intention to vote Conservative in either the 1992 or the 1997 General Elections.

Radical Right Policy on Initial Teacher Education

Table 2.2: Twelve Radical Right Policy Principles Specifically on ITE

1. Pro-Emphasis on Practical Classroom and Discipline Skills
2. Anti-Progressivism/ Child-centredness
3. Pro-Teacher as Authority Figure in terms of both expertise and discipline
4. Pro-Traditional Curriculum Content and Methods and Morality
5. Anti-Changing Society to secure more social justice
6. Anti-Multiculturalism and anti-anti-racism
7. Priority for Subject Knowledge and Practical Skills
8. Anti-Educational Theory in ITE
9. Anti-HEI Involvement in ITE and Pro-setting up new routes/ a competitive market in ITE
10. Pro-Totally School-Based ITE Routes
11. Pro-Cutting Cost of ITE
12. Pro-Regulation of ITE via tightly defined and monitored Competencies or Standards

Neo-Conservative and neo-liberal policy principles for ITE frequently overlap, as in the following twelve instances (each shown with examples of their accompanying anti-liberal-progressive and anti-socialist-egalitarian discourse):

1. College-based teacher education concentrates too little on classroom discipline skills (Shaw, 1986; Sexton, 1987; O'Hear, 1988, 1991b); it should concentrate more on *practical* teaching.

Beverley Shaw's 'Teacher Training: the Misdirection of British Teaching' in Dennis O'Keeffe's *The Wayward Curriculum*, is a typical and representative attack, criticizing colleges for 'the neglect of the essentials of good classroom discipline', with 'too many teacher trainers more interested in radically changing society than in preparing their students for the demanding career ahead of them'. (Shaw, 1986: 202).

2. College-based teacher education is too progressive and child-centred in the teaching methods and content it encourages in student teachers. (The Hillgate Group, 1986; 1987; O'Keeffe, 1990a, b).

Shaw (1986) inveighs not so much against the 'collectivist-egalitarian views' of the 'irredeemably Marxian teacher trainer' but more against the general beliefs of the occupational group of teacher trainers, in particular 'the subversion of authority'. Similarly, the Hillgate Group's *Whose Schools: A Radical Manifesto* (1986), diagnoses the malady of British education as its ideology of 'curriculum reform, relevance, and child-centred learning', asserting that 'constant reform of the curriculum has undermined the attempt to preserve, enhance, and pass on the precious heritage of our culture' (1986:3).

3. HEI-based ITE accepts and perpetuates disrespect for authority. Teachers should be 'well dressed' and 'well spoken' authority figures.

Part of the desire to return to what might be termed 'authoritative' and 'traditional' teaching extends also to teacher's dress and appearance codes. The *Daily Mail* greeted Gillian Shephard's Consultative document on a Primary National Curriculum for ITE with

Trash the T-shirts, tatty teachers are told ... trainee teachers who wear T-shirts and jeans to work are in for a dressing down. They are to be barred from classrooms until they learn to set an example to children with their appearance ... Teacher Training Agency chief executive

Anthea Millett, who has drawn up the 'national curriculum' for training colleges, commented: 'Part of the problem about the content of lessons relates to the way teachers present themselves and work with their classes'. Parents and employers have repeatedly complained about the example set for pupils by teachers who wear jeans and T-shirts. Many are also unhappy about male teachers sporting earrings. (cited in Halpin, 1997).

4. ITE should concentrate on 'back to basics' – on 'traditional' content and methods of teaching reading, arithmetic, and morality.

Particular opprobrium has been attached to what are seen as ineffective progressive ways in which HEIs taught 'the three Rs' – reading, writing and arithmetic. John Major's 'Back to Basics' movement in the early 1990s was partly an appeal for a literate and numerate workforce, with its insistence on numeracy and mental arithmetic, its appeal for a restoration of correct grammar and spelling in children's writings rather than child-centred 'creativity', and its appeal for a return to traditional reading – phonics in particular (and 'look and say') as against the 'real books' method. But, just as importantly, it was a discursive appeal to and for 'traditional schooling' in support of a particular policy (the National Curriculum). Other Ministers too, condemned 'trendy' 'progressive' and 'child-centred' teaching methods.

Kenneth Clarke, the Secretary of State for Education and Science (1989-92), encouraging and encouraged by the *Daily Mail* and *Mail on Sunday*, fulminated against 'cranky' approaches to the teaching of reading, damning not only the 'real books' method but also the 'look and say' method, in favour of the 'phonics method'. His condemnation extended to the institutions of teacher education propagating such approaches. The Gillian Shephard *National Curriculum for Primary Teacher Training* Consultative document of February 1997 (DfEE, 1997e) concentrates on the importance of student teachers being proficient at grammar, spelling and mental arithmetic.

5. College-based teacher education is too much concerned with changing society and/or developing egalitarian or liberal perspectives on schooling and society (Shaw 1986; O'Hear 1988, 1990; The Hillgate Group, 1986; O'Keeffe, 1990a, b). It should concentrate more on 'practical teaching', traditional content and pedagogy, and less on

criticizing government and policy. If, in the words of the *Daily Mail*, 'Riots [are] blamed on the trendy school staff', then who is to blame for the 'trendy school staff'? For the *Daily Mail*:

The explosive mixture being produced in the eighties is the direct result of second generation education in the comprehensives over the last two decades, [stimulated by] well meaning but malignant philosophies of trendy teachers coming out of college with half baked ideas on mixed ability teaching, egalitarianism, and the abolition of corporal punishment and classroom discipline. (*Daily Mail*, 1982).

The Hillgate Group (1986) attacks egalitarian propaganda as 'a false philosophy of education ... expanded and defended at every level from the primary classroom to the graduate school of "Education" '. O'Keeffe writes that 'In the lecture halls you find the relentless cult of equality and a worship of a dream childhood, with total rejection of the pains and duties of the real adult world and a contempt for patriotism'. (1990b).

O'Hear, a high profile member first of CATE and then of the TTA, attacks 'examples of obsessions with inequality, with racism and sexism and other passing political fashions', stating 'much of this is anti-educational' (see O'Hear, 1988). The *Sun* newspaper was in no doubt that the introduction of the Licensed Teacher scheme was an attack on the Left, with the headline on 16 January 1989 of 'Lefties face sack in big purge on teacher colleges'. The article proclaimed:

Hundreds of Left-wingers and failed academics face the sack in a dramatic plan to shut down many teacher training colleges ... Education Secretary, Ken Baker blames much of the 1980s education crisis on training colleges. He believes many schools are staffed by political activists and academic failures who damage discipline and reject the importance of the three Rs! (*Sun*, 1989)

6. College-based teacher education promulgates a model of the multi-cultural and anti-racist teacher (O'Hear 1988; The Hillgate Group 1986, 1987). It should not.

The Hillgate Group's *The Reform of British Education – from Principles to Practice* (1987) highlights 'two slogans' that have 'dominated the thinking of educationalists, those of 'relevance', and 'multi-culturalism' – the latter being 'more serious'. (1987:2).

Lawlor continues this line in the pamphlet *Teacher Mistaught: Training in theories or education in subjects?* with a focus on several PGCE and BEd courses on 'race', and gender. (Lawlor, 1990a; see also O'Hear, 1988).

7. The essence of good teaching is knowledge and love of the subject to be taught, and mastery of the practical skills of teaching, 'the first comes through study of the subject taught, the second from supervised practice'. (O' Hear, 1988:3; c.f. Trend 1988).

In his article 'Getting the teachers we deserve', O'Hear (1991a) suggests:

The knowledge teachers require ... is first and foremost that of their subjects. Success as a teacher ought to be judged in terms of the degree to which their pupils have more knowledge of the subject after being taught than they did before.

He continues,

The ability to put a subject over is not some further bit of knowledge over and above one's subject. Even allowing that there is a subject called education, studying it oneself would not itself enhance one's ability to teach. To adapt the hackneyed example so often used by those who disagree with me, one could be a Nobel Prize winner in education and still be completely useless with the restive fourth form on a wet Friday afternoon. How does one learn to teach effectively? Everyone involved in the sometimes bitter disputes about teacher training seems now to argue that the key component is practice. This is hardly surprising since teaching is fundamentally a practical ability. (O'Hear, 1991a).

Lawlor considers study of an academic subject at degree level is not, however, necessary for Primary school teachers, for whom a two-year Certificate of Advanced Educational Study followed by a year's on-the-job training would suffice (1990a: 39).

8. Education theory is of no or of little value for student teachers, indeed there is no academic discipline as such of 'Education' (Sexton, 1987; Lawlor, 1990a, b; O'Hear, 1991a, b). College- based courses should leave education theory, if it is to be studied at all, to in-service training.

Teacher trainers are accused by Sheila Lawlor of including in their courses topics such as special educational needs, multicultural education and equal opportunities, which she calls 'a series of random topics, chosen, it appears because of their fascination for educationalists'. (As UCET [1990] pointed out, all these topics were required by the Government in the DES Circular 24/89).

Lawlor (1990a) also proclaims that whereas

the individual subjects ... will require academic study, the skills of teaching are essentially practical ones. They can be acquired only through experience, trial and error and careful, individual supervision. Who would imagine that a man could learn to act, or play the piano, or swim, or drive a motor car by studying manuals of acting, piano playing, swimming or driving theory? It is no less foolish to suppose that the study of educational theory will make him able to teach. (Lawlor, 1990a: 8).

Likewise, Anthony O'Hear (1988) states,

There is, I suggest, no well-established and comprehensive body of theory covering teaching and learning. For practical purposes, I argue, this would not matter, since teaching is a practical matter, one best learned by doing, under the guidance of experienced practising teachers. But in colleges and departments of education students have to be taught something, and in the vacuum created by lack of solid theoretical knowledge, spurious and questionable studies flourish, sustained by fads and fashions in the teacher training establishment, rather than by any solid grounding in the real world. (1988: 6).

9. The present college-based system of teacher education should be scrapped (either totally or substantially). (The Hillgate Group, 1989; Sexton, 1987; Lawlor, 1990a; Trend, 1988; Boyson, 1990; O'Hear, 1991a).

The Hillgate Group's *Learning to Teach* (1989) is one example of a Radical right publication to attack and urge the scrapping of the present system of teacher-training and replace it with on-the-job, school-based skill development. The Group actually argue that a Licensed Teacher scheme should become *the major route* into teaching. Sheila Lawlor's *Teachers Mistaught* (1990a) argues that:

the existing Education Departments [in ITE institutions] should be disbanded. Their members could be offered the choice of going into school-teaching at a senior level; of taking early retirement; or, if they were distinguished academically, of moving to the department of a university where their subject (English, maths, physics etc.) is studied. (1990a: 38).

The 1991-92 reading methods controversy was part of the contemporary attack on teacher education. Tim Eggar, one of the Junior Ministers for Education at the time, baldly announced that 'in future most teachers would be trained in schools instead of teacher training schemes'. A *Daily Mail* full-page article announced:

A shake-up of teacher training is now certainly at the top of the Government's manifesto pledge for the next election. Education Secretary Kenneth Clarke, who has condemned child-centred learning as 'silly', has not been idle. After the 'Sharon Shrill' affair in which Cambridge classicist Annis Garfield was denied a teacher training place at Nene College, Northamptonshire, yet was offered an interview when she posed as a fictitious Afro-Caribbean feminist, he sacked some of the 'trendies' from the quango which validates teacher training courses.

Further, he has ordered two inquiries: the first into the quality of courses approved, and the second into the way in which teachers are trained to teach reading. It is an open secret that he is outraged by some of the courses which have been approved.

Ministers are itching to break the monopoly – and power – of the teacher training colleges and will use the next election to do it. The main weapon favoured by them will be 'on the job' training. (*Daily Mail*, 1992).

Along with the *Daily Mail*, Ministers and other newspapers pre-judged in favour of these school-based ITE schemes. Proposals to base teacher education courses in schools made in the winter of 1991/92 were met with such right-wing media headlines as 'Training shake-up to beat college trendies' (*Daily Mail*, 1992); 'Is this the Right way to teach the teachers? Clarke aims for return to traditional methods as standards plummet' (*Sunday Express*, 1991), and 'Do we really need these colleges?' (*Sunday Express*, 1992). Long- time radical-right ideologues rushed to welcome such moves. Sheila Lawlor published an article in *The Times* entitled 'Touch of class for teachers: Plans to train teachers on the job should be welcomed'. (Lawlor, 1992).

10. School-based, on-the-job skill development, such as the Licensed Teacher Scheme and School Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT), should become a, or the, major

type of teacher training. (The Hillgate Group 1989; Sexton 1987; Lawlor 1990a; Trend 1988; Boyson 1990; O'Hear 1991a; Thatcher 1993).

This is the corollary of scrapping or diminishing college-based ITE.

11. HEI-based ITE costs too much – it is too expensive.

The question of cost is part of the rationale for the attempted introduction of the 'mums army' scheme, also the introduction of the Specialist Teacher Assistants Scheme, the three-year undergraduate teaching qualification, the Licensed Teachers' Scheme, reduced per capita funding in real terms per ITE student and the non-continuation of the (relatively expensive) Articled Teachers' Scheme. This fits into and is part of the well-rehearsed Radical Right hostility to the cost of public services and the desire to reduce taxation. Three-year teacher education/training courses are, of course, cheaper than four-year courses.

12. ITE and the quality of new teachers need to be regulated, and are best regulated by introducing competencies into the process and assessment of 'training'.

In Wilkin's words,

the introduction of competencies into training can be regarded as an ideological tactic for several reasons. They are perceived as a-theoretical, being measures of observable behaviour and hence facilitating the assessment of practical skills. They thus represent the anti-theoretical stance of Thatcherism and once drawn up they can be administered by anyone and their application is not hindered by self-interest groups, such as the profession, claiming specialist expertise. (Wilkin, 1996:157) (8).

Changes to ITE in the Context of Conservative Education Policy

The themes and principles I have discussed feature in Radical Right discourse on schooling, and, indeed, on education in general. Schools, like teacher education, were attacked rhetorically. Sample headlines from the national British press during the 1980s and 1990s are 'The curse of the comprehensives – as the nations "all-in" schools are slammed for too high spending and too low results' by Rhodes Boyson (1991), then an

Educational Minister; 'Failed – the proof that comprehensives damage more than just education' by Ray Honeyford (1987); 'The classroom revolutionary – Inside and Outside school – I raise political issues' (*Daily Telegraph*, 1986) an exposé of an SWP teacher's activities in one school). The educational writings of the Radical Right and speeches by Government Ministers are very clear: they loathe what they describe as the permissive society, 'trendy teachers', 'loony left' staffrooms, 'the false cult of egalitarianism' (O'Hear, 1988; 1991b), 'antiracism' (Hillgate Group, 1986; 1987; Honeyford, 1988; Thatcher, 1993; Major, 1993), mixed ability teaching (O'Keeffe, 1990a, b), collaborative learning, democratic classrooms and democratic management of schools. Used abusively, terms such as 'trendy', 'permissive' and 'caring' are applied indiscriminately to both liberal progressive and to social egalitarian schooling. These frequently conflated attacks on liberal progressivism on the one hand, and socialist ideas and policies in education on the other, have a history stretching from 'The Black Papers' of the 1960s and 1970s (see, for example, Cox and Dyson, 1969; Cox and Boyson, 1975, 1977) through to the Hillgate Group publications of 1986, 1987 and 1989.

Councils such as Brent, Haringey, Lambeth and the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) were singled out for their anti-racist, anti-sexist policies. Haringey and Brent were lambasted because of their anti-heterosexism/ anti-homophobic policies. The ILEA was vilified for these policies and for those seeking to counter working class educational disadvantage (9). All were dubbed 'loony left'.

As in ITE, Conservative education policy in general has established *a competitive market* for consumers (children and their parents); attempted to ideologically *recompose the consumers of education* (children/ school students) via changes in the formal curriculum and the hidden curriculum; created, with Circulars 9/92 and 14/93, a new, *prescriptive Conservative National Curriculum, regulated with financial penalties*, which is prescriptive in the detail and outcomes it requires, marginalising alternative and oppositional beliefs, and regulated by funding advantages and penalties (the rise or fall of per capita funding according to 'league table' performance). Conservative Governments also cut the cost of schooling with the effect that class sizes in state Primary Schools increased (10). Jones (1989:185) describes the 1988 Act as 'a fundamental attack on the policies of equal opportunity which developed in the thirty

five years following the Education Act of 1944', a view shared by many (e.g. Simon, 1992; Davies *et al.*, 1992).

Conservative policy on ITE and other areas of education throughout the Conservative period in office was characterized by the attack on alternative models and ideologies of schooling, and their material processes. I now want to consider Conservative education policy in the wider context of the state policy of the Radical Right, during the phase known as Thatcherism. Below, I periodise Conservative policy on Education, and then discuss the relationship between neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. (It is in Chapter Seven, the theoretical analysis of these developments, that I locate Conservative education policy in England and Wales locate them within various bigger pictures, including 'the Businessification of Education' and its techniques, such as New Public Management [NPM]).

The Bigger Picture of Conservative Ideology: Thatcherism, Neo-liberalism and Neo-Conservatism

Conservative policy on ITE, on schooling and education generally, and in state policy overall (such as employment, fiscal, housing, health, and criminal justice policy) is seen, as noted at the beginning of this chapter, as classically 'Thatcherite' – that is to say, a populist amalgam of neo-liberal and neo-Conservative ideology and policy.

Although the term 'Thatcherite' has been applied, there was no let-up by the Conservative Government in the application of Radical Right policies regarding teacher education and schooling when Margaret Thatcher left Prime Ministerial office in 1990. Indeed the most dramatic attempts at restructuring ITE took place during the John Major governments, with the imposition of a form of national curriculum for ITE (under Circulars 9/ 92 and 14/ 93), together with the proposed National Curriculum for Primary Teacher Training of February 1997. Major's government also saw the commencement of totally school-centred ITE schemes (SCITT) without Higher Education involvement. For schools, a prominent feature of John Major's 1997 Conservative general election campaign was reintroducing selection at age 11, by setting up a (selective) 'grammar school in every town' (where there is parental demand).

Phases in Thatcherism and post-Thatcherite Conservative Party education policy

Conservative education policy since 1979 can be periodised. Eric Bolton (1994) puts some ITE flesh on these periodised bones, and looks before 1988 (as do Wilkin and Sankey, 1994a, b; Wilkin, 1996; Furlong *et al*, 2000). Bolton points out that the 1988 Education Reform Act was prefigured in Keith Joseph's 1986 White Paper *Better Schools*, which, according to Bolton, 'laid down the basis for the curriculum and assessment legislation that would follow'. (Bolton, 1994:28). Wilkin points out that 'the intention of the government to extend its political philosophy to the school curriculum had already been established in the Secretary of State's North of England speech' of 1984. (Wilkin, 1996:148-9).

While not part of the marketization of ITE, this initial phase of Thatcherite policy on ITE, under Keith Joseph (Secretary of State 1981-1986) was about controlling the curriculum – exorcising anti-competitive, anti-economistic, anti-national devils. As such, these were part of a neo-conservative, as well as a neo-liberal, agenda.

Barber (1997) describes three phases of 'the cultural revolution in education' since the 1988 Education Reform Act. The first, under Secretaries of State for Education Kenneth Baker (1986- 89) and John McGregor (1989-1990), was 'free market pragmatism'. Though clearly committed to the market reforms (in schooling), Ministers in this period were pragmatic about implementation, making pragmatic concessions in order to smooth implementation, and taking some account of responses from the educational community.

The second period, under Secretary of State Kenneth Clarke (1990-1992), Barber characterizes as 'free market purism'. In this period, marketization was applied more widely and more rigorously to ITE – as well as to Colleges and Universities via the Further and Higher Education Act of 1992, to schools via the publication of academic performance tables (and other areas of performance) and to the inspection of schools via the 1992 Education (Schools) Act (with the semi-privatisation of school inspections in the same Act).

The third period, under John Patten (1992-1994), Barber defines as a period of 'free market Stalinism', or a version of 'forcing people to be free, i.e. to adopt the free market'. The clearest example in education policy was the 1992 White Paper *Choice and Diversity* (DFE, 1992b), which sought to make most secondary schools and many primary schools opt-out of LEA control. These would be funded and supervised by the Funding Agency for Schools, becoming 'independent state schools'. Barber calls this period 'free market Stalinism' due to 'the contradictory drive to extend the market while simultaneously extending the powers of the Secretary of State for Education' (Barber, 1996:56). He cites John Patten's introduction of the pilot schemes for school-based teacher training from September 1993 as another example of extending the market.

Barber describes Gillian Shephard's term of office (1994-1997) as the era of 'new pragmatism' in which 'the government had rejected pure ideology, and set out, at last, to seek evidence of what worked' (Barber, 1996:68). This pre-election period is epitomized by the various reports by Sir Ron Dearing on, for example, simplifying the content and the assessment of the National Curriculum for schools.

There seems, however, little difference between the 'free market pragmatism' of the Kenneth Baker era and the so-called 'new' (non-ideological!) pragmatism of the Gillian Shephard era. Teachers were being listened to more than during the Clarke and Patten terms of office, but the free market cultural revolution continued. So did the emphasis on schools opting out of LEA control, on having a selective 'grammar school in every town', and of continuing to favour and thereby extend the market in ITE via the SCITT scheme.

Although William Hague, Conservative leader 1997-2001 never became Prime Minister, Radical Right thinking within the Conservative Party under his leadership continued as part of the 'common sense revolution', which requires the effective abolition of LEAs. In a mid-2000 speech to the Politieia think-tank, Hague announced that all schools should be 'Free Schools':

Head teachers and governors would be then free to manage their own budgets, free to employ their own staff, free to set their teachers' pay, free to determine their own admissions policy, free to manage their

own opening hours and term times, and free to set and enforce their own standards and discipline (Woodward, 2000).

With freedom to select, 'Free Schools will be free to determine their own admissions policies ... some will wish to select 20 or 30 or 40 per cent of their intake, others will wish to be wholly selective' (Hague, quoted in *New Statesman*, 2000), and 'new grammar schools will appear' (Hague, quoted in Halpin, 2001). Thus, Heads and governors would decide which pupils to admit and which to expel. Under Hague's plans, 'independent foundations, including companies, charities, churches, voluntary organizations and parents' groups would be allowed to run existing state schools and to set up new ones' (Halpin, 2001. See also Willetts, 1999; the Conservative Party Manifesto for the 2001 general election, Conservative Party, 2001).

Conservative policy remains fundamentally hostile to two agencies or apparatuses thought to be involved in promoting equality and equal opportunities – Local Education Authorities and Initial Teacher Education. Hague's 'Free Schools' policy is an example of continuing Radical Right discourse and of policy concepts based on its 'equiphobia' – fear of equality (Myers in Troyna, 1995; c.f. Hill, 1997a).

To analyse the distinct relationship of the two strands of Conservative ideology, (the free-market neo-liberal position and the moral/social authoritarian neo-conservative position) to education policy, I will now consider Radical Right governmental discourse.

The Neo-liberals

With its emphasis on the social morality of individual choice, competition, inequality, and neo-liberal economic policies, the neo-liberal section of the Radical Right in Britain has been influenced, in particular, by the philosophy of Friedrich von Hayek (Ball, 1990a; Gamble, 1983). The corpus of neo-liberal beliefs as applied to education has been set out in particular by James Tooley (1994, 1996, 1998a, 1999a, b, 2000).

Neo-liberals stress the efficiency and increased production of wealth and profit that they believe results from competition. They therefore attack any group that stands – or

argues – for policy in restraint of trade. Application of market forces, competition, diversity of provision and freedom of choice by consumers will, according to neo-liberals, raise standards in areas of public social provision such as health and education as well as in the commercial sector.

Also, Wilkin observes an emphasis on practice, and concomitant anti-theoretical bias:

Thatcher herself often spoke out against theorists. Her mistrust of the theorist was matched by her admiration for the practitioner and for the common sense of the ordinary people – preferences which are directly derived from the philosophy of the market. It is the practitioner, not the theorist dreamer, who gets things done, creates wealth and generates further business. (Wilkin, 1996:146).

Of course, this anti-theoretical bias does not extend to social market and neo-liberal philosophy, only to the theory of professionals – such as social workers, teachers, probation officers. Yet neo-liberal theory and philosophy are obvious determinants of Thatcherite policy.

The influence of Hayek on Radical Right thinking in Britain, and the transmogrification of the *educational* implications of Hayek's theory into the 1988 Education Reform Act, have been discussed in depth (see Note 1). With emphasis on privatisation, the untrammelled operation of the free market, the importance of free competition, of incentives and the necessity for unequal pay and rewards, Hayek's philosophy heavily influenced a whole range of Radical Right policy for Conservative governments in Britain from 1979 to 1997. This was mainly through neo-liberal 'think-tanks' such as the Centre for Policy Studies, the Adam Smith Institute, the Social Affairs Unit, and the Institute for Economic Affairs. As Ken Jones points out, *The Omega File*, produced by the radical right-wing Adam Smith Institute in 1983-84 was 'the most systematic and influential work of the free market right' (Jones, K. 1989:46), and presented a blueprint for a reorganization of schooling based on market principles.

A number of Conservative governmental policies are classic manifestations of neo-liberal, free market ideology, particularly the introduction of a competitive market and diversity in schools; the funding support given to private schools via the Assisted Places Scheme; schools' open enrolment of pupils and the transference of a substantial

percentage of funding and of powers away from local education authorities to 'consumers' (in this case, schools). 'Ostensibly, at least, these represent a "rolling back" of central and local government's influence on what goes on in schools'. (Troyna, 1995:141).

The neo-liberal politicians who dominated educational policy-making in Britain during much of the 1980s, proposed that social affairs- including education- should be organized according to the 'general principle of consumer sovereignty'. Each individual is regarded as the best judge of his or her needs, wants, and interests. Allied to this belief in the sanctity of individual choice as being essentially 'good', there is the belief that competition produces improvements in the quality of services on offer which in turn enhance the wealth-producing potential of the economy. This, whether by 'trickle down effect' or by forcing producers and purveyors of inferior goods (such as refrigerators or schools) benefits everyone, by bringing about gains for the least well off as well as for the socially advantaged (see also Whitty and Menter, 1989; Whitty, 1993, 1997 and the discussion on James Tooley's neo-liberalism in Chapter Ten).

In summary, neo-liberalism requires that the state establishes and extends:

1. Privatisation/Private ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.
2. The provision of a Market in goods and services – including private sector involvement in welfare, social, educational and other state services (such as air traffic control, prisons, policing).
3. Within education the creation of 'opportunity' to acquire the means of education (though not necessarily education itself, see McMurtry, 1991) and additional cultural capital, through selection.
4. Relatively untrammelled selling and buying of labour power, for a 'flexible', poorly-regulated labour market.
5. The restructuring of the management of the welfare state on the basis of a corporate managerialist model imported from the world of business. 'As well as the needs of the economy dictating the principal aims of school education, the world of business is also to supply a model of how it is to be provided and managed'. (Hatcher, 2000b, 2001; see also Bottery, 1999).

6. Suppression of oppositional critical thought and of autonomous thought and education (see the discussion in Chapter Ten, and McMurtry, 1991).
7. Within a regime of cuts in the post-war Welfare State and low public expenditure.

The Neo-Conservatives

The second Radical Right strain is neo-Conservatism. This embraces social and moral authoritarianism, a return to some aspects of Victorian values and a 'back to basics' philosophy. Apple refers to neo-conservatives as 'cultural restorationists' (Apple, 1989a; 1989b). Luminaries include Roger Scruton, Caroline (Baroness) Cox, Rhodes Boyson, Frank Palmer and Ray Honeyford, and at a more populist level, Norman Tebbit. These stress 'traditional' values such as respect for authority, what they would term 'normal' sexuality (i.e. heterosexuality) and 'the nation', 'Britishness', the values of a social elite, and the importance of a common culture, that of the elite. A more recent publication in this vein is Peter Hitchens' (2000) book, *The Abolition of Britain*. Neo-Conservatives seek a disciplined society, a strong government, a Britain that veers selectively between Victoriana and John Major's childhood recollections of a time of warm beer, cricket matches on the village green, and golden sunsets. These ideologues criticize what they see as the destruction of traditional educational values, indeed, of traditional Britain.

The Hillgate Group (1986, 1987, 1989) calls for a reassertion of traditional teaching methods and content, through a series of pamphlets that have been strikingly influential for, or at least predictive of, government legislation, especially the National Curriculum. And the tone of comments by Chris Woodhead, while Chief Inspector of Schools, was clearly more acerbic, more in tune with Conservative thinking than that of his predecessors. One example is his assertion in 1995 that 'class size does not matter' in terms of teaching effectiveness (11). This is connected with his call for a return to more traditional, teacher-centred teaching methods and the streaming or setting of pupils in both primary and secondary schools.

The list of chapters in Dennis O'Keeffe's *The Wayward Curriculum: A Cause for Parents' Concern* (1986) gives a clear indication of neo-Conservative targets for removal. They include 'The Wayward Curriculum: A Cause for Parents' Concern', 'The

Attack on the Culture of Quality', 'English: Two Decades of Attrition', 'English: Reducing Learning to Short-cut "Skills"', 'Religious Education: Defending Christian Values' and 'Mixed-Ability Teaching: A Threat to Learning?'

The influence of Roger Scruton and his protégés Frank Palmer and Ray Honeyford (Palmer, 1986; Honeyford, 1984, 1985, 1988) has been described as seminal (Jones, 1989:54- 64), not only through Scruton's co-authorship of Hillgate Group booklets but also through his assault on anti-racism, the acceptance of xenophobia as natural, and the assertion of a historic 'Englishness' and 'Britishness'. (See Hessari and Hill, 1989; Jones, 1989; Massey, 1991; Cole, 1992a; Hill, 1994a for critiques of this xenophobia).

At the *media level of discourse*, this particular type of anti-egalitarianism or equiphobia has been particularly pronounced, as a form of *anti-anti-racism*. Honeyford and Palmer set out from a supremacist, monoculturalist nationalist position to attack both multiculturalism and anti-racism, and to assert the cultural necessity of gender and class difference and of social elitism. (Lawton, 1994). For Scruton,

nations depend on the creation of new elites [and the] only way to save our education system is to spend less public money on it. Schools need to be taken out of the public sector once and for all. (Scruton, 1990).

The Unity of the Radical Right?

It is sometimes difficult to disentangle neo-liberal and neo-Conservative theories within Radical Right discourse. They are usually mutually supportive, but also the 'traditional England' concept contained more than golden sunsets, stiff upper lips, dutiful marriages and workforces and a tear in the eye for Empire. 'Traditional England' also comprised laissez-faire entrepreneurs, the playing fields of Rugby, competitive school 'House systems' and dockers and labourers queuing up to be chosen for work. Thus competition and individualism figure in tradition. Transportations, Trade Unionists, Red Scares and 'Reds under the beds' are as much a part of English tradition as imperial conquest, the Royal Family and fagging.

At the *micro-level* of policy towards schools, neo-liberals and neo-conservatives share views on some policies, but disagree on others. For example, a number of free marketeers oppose the National Curriculum, or any state control over the school curriculum, as being inconsistent with the rolling back of the state (c.f. Flew, 1991; Tooley, 1996, 2000), and with the full free-play of market forces.

Jones (1989) finds that 'in formal terms' these tendencies 'are contradictory', and that 'these contradictions have recognisable effects at the level of policy and action'. But that 'in reality', they

generally complement each other, even to the extent of inhabiting the mind of the same individual ... Jointly they have popularised the most powerful theme of right-wing educational discourse: that the decades long quest for equality has resulted only in the lowering of standards. Cultural analysis of what Scruton has called "the impractical utopian values that will destroy all that is most valuable in our culture", and free market assertion about the evils of state monopoly combine in an anti-egalitarian crusade. (Jones, 1989:38, cf. Lawton, 1994).

At the *macro-policy level* neo-liberals and neo-Conservatives both seek to perpetuate the interests of capital untrammelled by strong trade unions, professional restrictive practices, an inclusivist welfare state, and a permissive non-work-orientated unproductive culture. In the words of Furlong *et al* (2000:9), 'Both neo-conservatives and neo-liberals are critical of egalitarianism and collectivism, which they allege have encouraged an anti-enterprise and permissive culture'. However, 'for both traditions the good society is best understood in terms of a strong state, free economy and stable families' (Barton *et al.*, 1994:532. See also Gamble, 1983, 1988; Gamble and Wells, 1989).

The difference between classic (*laissez-faire*) liberalism of the mid-nineteenth century, and the neo-liberalism of today, based on the views of Hayek (see Ball, 1990b; Gamble, 1996) is that the former wanted to roll back the state, to let private enterprise make profits relatively unhindered by legislation (e.g. safety at work, trade union rights, minimum wage), and unhindered by the tax costs of a welfare state (see McLaren, 2000: 22-23).

On the other hand, *neo*-liberalism demands a strong state to promote its interests, hence Gamble's (1988) depiction of the Thatcherite polity as *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism*. Gamble's analysis is that if the New Right has a unity and if it deserves to be distinguished from previous 'rights' what sets it apart is the combination of a traditional liberal defence of state authority (see also Hill, 2000a, 2001b, e). The strongly *interventionist State* is needed by capital particularly in the field of education and training – in the field of producing an ideologically compliant but technically skilled workforce. The social production of labour-power is crucial for capitalism. It needs to extract as much surplus value as it can from the labour power of workers (Rikowski, 2001a. See the discussion of Rikowski's analysis in Chapter Seven).

Notes

1. There have been many books and articles describing, analysing, and critiquing the effect of Thatcherism and the Radical Right on schooling, the wider education system, and teacher education. On the broader societal analysis see Gamble, 1983, 1988; Gamble and Wells, 1989; Hall, 1983; Hall and Jacques, 1983; Hall, 1985; Levitas, 1987; Jessop, 1990). For educational analysis see, for example, Whitty *et al.*, 1987, 1994, 1998; Tomlinson, 2001; Chitty, 1989; Hessari and Hill, 1989 (chapter two); Hill, 1989, 1990a, 1994a, c; Jones, 1989; Ball, 1990a, b; Knight, 1990; Whitty, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1997; Whitty and Menter, 1989; Barton *et al.*, 1994; Hillcole Group, 1994, 1997; Lawton, 1994. Knight analyses Radical Right influence on education policy from a Radical Right perspective. Several series of articles were on Thatcherism and the new Right, or Radical Right, in the Left press in Britain, such as *Marxism Today*, *New Socialist*, *Socialist Review*, *Militant International Review*, throughout the 1990s. The resignation of Mrs. Thatcher as Prime Minister in late 1990 triggered a spate of similar articles in the quality British daily and Sunday press.
2. Not all of these personalities and publications may have been consistently or commonly characterized as Radical Right. For example, John Major and Kenneth Clarke have been sometimes referred to as objecting to the Radical Right direction in which William Hague was leading the Conservative Party during 2000-2001. And during the Conservative Party leadership contest between Kenneth Clarke and Ian Duncan-Smith in the summer of 2001, Clarke was commonly referred to as a moderate or 'liberal' Tory. However, the texts referred to here are classic expressions of the principles defined above. In any case, both Major and Clarke played highly significant roles, while in power, in implementing Radical Right policies – not least in respect of teacher education.
3. This course is reproduced, in part, in both Hill, 1989, and in Hillgate Group, 1989
4. This is an accurate quote from Mike Cole's course documentation. However, the course documentation seen by Thatcher contained a typographical error. The word 'multicultural' should have been inserted here. (Cole, 2001)
5. This discourse of derision continued with New Labour. Ball (2001) notes that in educational research the discourse of derision has been articulated via a set of reports and interventions from within and outside the research community. David Hargreaves' 1996 Teacher Training Agency lecture (Hargreaves 1996), the Tooley 'Report' (Tooley 1998b) and the Hillage Report (Hillage *et al.* (1998) together with highly publicised remarks by the Secretary of State for Education, David Blunkett, and Chris Woodhead, have been the key elements in this discourse. (Ball, 2001).
6. See Chapter Four for a more detailed description and analysis of liberal-progressive ideology and teacher education.
7. Radical Left/socialist/Marxist ideas in education are set out in Chapter Six.
8. Mahoney and Hextall (2000) discuss the place of competencies within 'New Public Management' (NPM), see also Hustler and McIntyre, 1996; Furlong *et al.*, 2000:69-71.
9. The ILEA produced two major reports in the 1980s investigating the extent of working-class underachievement and detailing policy responses to combat such underachievement. As the then largest local authority in Western Europe its resources

were substantial, and its 'Thomas Report' on Primary Schooling (ILEA, 1985) (also its 'Hargreaves Report' on Secondary Schooling [ILEA, 1984]) may be regarded as major contributions to the debate on, and proposals for, a schooling system that is more egalitarian in terms of social class. The 'Thomas Report' and the 'Hargreaves Report' are radically different from those enacted by Conservative governments – in particular, with its concern that schools should be community schools.

10. The number of primary age children in England taught by a single teacher in classes of more than 40 went up from 14,057 in January 1994 to 18,223 in January 1995. In January 1995 the number in classes of 36 or more taught by a single teacher rose by 11% over the year to 107,985, while 1,155,726 primary children were in classes of 31 or more. (Carvel and Wintour, 1995).

11. This assertion, and reactions to it, are set out in the *Times Educational Supplement* (1995a, b).

Chapter Three

RESPONSES TO POLICY DEVELOPMENTS FROM THE EDUCATION COMMUNITY

In this chapter, I examine responses to policy changes in Initial Teacher Education from within the education community. I assess data from Headteachers, teachers, Her Majesty's Inspectors/Ofsted, teacher educators, student teachers and newly qualified teachers (NQTs).

I discuss the adequacy of ITE between 1989 and 1997 as perceived by various participants, and the relevance attached by NQTs and student teachers to educational theory, to awareness of the contexts of schooling and teacher education, and to 'political', egalitarian and social justice aspects of schooling and teacher education.

Part One: The Views of Headteachers

Two Local Surveys (1992, 1993) of Headteacher Opinions on School-Based and HEI-Based ITE, and the Relevance of Theory

In spring 1992 and June 1993 I twice carried out a postal questionnaire of one hundred and fifty Headteachers in West Sussex and Hampshire. Out of the three hundred, one hundred and forty-six replied. The questions included a ranking scale on Headteachers' views of the quality of BEd, PGCE, Articled Teacher students and Licensed Teachers in their schools, together with seven open-ended questions (see the Research Methodology in *Appendix 1*). These sought Headteacher evaluation of various aspects of ITE course provision, including the school-basing of ITE, apprenticeship models and the roles that

HEIs should play in ITE (this is also substantially developed by the SCOP survey below). One question asked Headteachers 'what is your reaction to the view that teachers in training need educational theory as well as practice?'

Headteacher Observations on Student Teacher Strengths and Weaknesses

Of the eighty primary Headteachers questioned in the *Spring 1992 Survey*, only twelve favoured basing ITE on an apprenticeship scheme. Some respondents called the idea 'laughable', set to 'deprofessionalise the profession' and 'lower the intellectual calibre of teachers'. (Hill, 1993a).

Not one of the eighty Primary Heads dissented from view that 'teachers in training need educational theory as well as practice.' Typical comments were 'the teaching profession can only maintain high standards and full understanding with a solid theoretical background'; 'educational theory is a form of evaluation of current practice and needs to continue'; 'practical training should be placed in a theoretical context'; 'colleges/universities can more effectively than schools provide foundations in psychology, sociology, child development and the political contexts and aspects of schooling and education'. (ibid.).

Only 7% of Primary Heads described the quality of Primary BEd students when in school as 'not very good' or 'poor'. There was a similarly low rate of dissatisfaction with Secondary BEd and Secondary Postgraduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) students. The number, however, did rise to a 30% dissatisfaction rate for students on Primary PGCE courses. (Hill, 1993a).

The results of the *June 1993 Survey* of fifty-one *Primary* Headteachers are very similar.

Table 3.1: Headteacher Ratings of Student Teacher Preparation for Teaching (June 1993 survey)

	Very good	Good	Average	Not very good	Poor	Not willing to say
BEd	7 (14%)	24 (47%)	15 (37%)	3 (6%)	0 (0%)	3 (6%)
PGCE	2 (5%)	11 (30%)	12 (32%)	8 (22%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)

Thirty Headteachers wrote comments on teacher apprenticeship training, the role of theory and the role of Colleges, and twenty-seven were strongly opposed to apprenticeship style training, using such phrases as 'attack on the teaching profession', 'typical lack of government thinking', 'it assumes all teachers are capable', 'would produce a narrow and pragmatic workforce', 'the children would suffer', 'essential to maintain breadth of training – students need time for their own intellectual subject development, as well as philosophy of education'.

Forty-two Headteachers wrote comments supporting the view that teachers in training need educational theory as well as practice. *Not a single Headteacher disagreed.* Sample comments include: 'students need awareness of theory to reduce becoming puppets of state propaganda', 'theory forms a basis for new teachers' philosophy', 'theory helps make students deeper thinkers on educational issues', 'which other profession would be expected to train 'on the job?', 'theory and practice are inseparable otherwise there will be lower standards and shallowly trained teachers – as in private schools'.

List of Responses from Headteachers to Specific questions on Teacher Education

- When asked to list what student teachers are particularly *well prepared* for by the end of the *BEd* course the highest number of responses were:

good understanding of the National Curriculum	n = 13
good experience of a range of schools	n = 6
- In relation to the *PGCE* course no particular characteristic was cited by a significant number of Headteachers. The highest response in terms of students being *well prepared* concerned their high intellectual ability n = 5
- When asked to list what *BEd* students were particularly *poorly prepared* for the highest number of responses were:

poor classroom organization and management	n = 10
poor ability to teach reading	n = 5
poor discipline/coping with disturbed/difficult children	n = 5

(Continued overleaf)

List of Responses from Headteachers to Specific questions on Teacher Education
(Continued)

- When asked to list where *PGCE* students were *poorly prepared*, the major areas were:

lack of experience/ time in school	n = 9
poor classroom organization and management	n = 6
- Headteachers' comments on the role of colleges and universities in the education and training of teachers specifically highlighted:

provision of educational theory	n = 15
enabling students to share ideas and have time to reflect on practice	n = 14
facilitating students' personal development	n = 7
helping students to develop subject expertise	n = 5

(n = number of respondents)

Headteachers also noted higher education's role in promoting research and saw the need for a third party to guide, support and protect students in training. Thirty-nine Headteachers thought teaching should remain an all-graduate profession. Seven thought it acceptable to have different levels of qualification for teachers. The most common responses were that 'teachers should not be divided into different levels as this would result in "second class" status for some teachers and different pay levels', and that 'teaching younger children/infants should not be viewed as "baby minding"'.

In general, both surveys show Headteachers to be highly dubious, and sometimes very angry, about Government policy on ITE and training during 1992/93, at the time of the debate about and introduction of school-based ITE. These are the changes that remain, substantially, in force throughout the period from 1992/93 to 2001.

There were, however criticisms from Headteachers of ITE provision (prior to the 1992/93 Criteria), and indications of areas that they considered needed improving. A number of Headteachers indicated that they would be willing for schools to play a somewhat larger role in the education and training of teachers – if resources, funding and training were provided. Headteachers did (like NQTs) want some increased school involvement in training, but not in such a way as to remove theory, close ITE

institutions, or circumscribe reflection. Overwhelmingly, they *wished to work with* colleges and universities, not without them. They were, however, firmly opposed to the main planks of Government policy on teacher education and training.

The 1993 NUT/ Carrington and Tymms Survey

A number of other surveys were carried out to gauge Headteachers' opinions of the changes in ITE during 1993 and 1994, with results similar to those reported above. For example, an overwhelming majority of four hundred and forty Primary Headteachers surveyed in 1993 by Carrington and Tymms for the National Union of Teachers (Carrington and Tymms, 1993) rejected the 'Mum's Army ' proposal from Secretary of State for Education, John Patten's, for a non-graduate, one-year totally school-based training route for Infant (Key Stage One) Teachers.

This research also highlighted disquiet about other aspects of Patten's 1993 consultation document on primary ITE. Headteachers were critical of Government attempts to give schools the main responsibility for training teachers. Only 11% thought that more than 50% of primary training should be based in schools. And only 6% of Heads were not satisfied with the quality of trainee teachers they were already receiving (Pyke, 1993b).

The 1993 Devon Association of Primary Headteachers (DAPH) Survey

The DAPH/ Hannan survey (Hannan 1995) reports on the replies of two hundred and sixty-four Primary Headteachers in Devon to a questionnaire sent out immediately following the John Patten 'Mum's Army ' circular of June 1993 (DFE, 1993c). The survey also questioned two hundred and sixty-seven parents (1), two hundred and forty-two ITE students and fifty ITE tutors. Hannan (1993, 1994) analyses the responses. Some of the main findings are were:

- Headteachers (96.6%), students (89.3%) and tutors (96%) were overwhelmingly opposed to the proposal for a one-year training course for non-graduates to qualify them to teach children up to seven years of age.
- In all three of the groups asked (Headteachers, students and tutors), more opposed than supported the idea of moving towards 3-year BEd courses (away from the currently dominant 4-year course), with 70% of tutors against (20% in favour and 10 % neutral) compared to 40.9% of Headteachers (39.7% in favour and 19.5% neutral) and 42.1% of students (37.9% in favour and 20% neutral).
- All four categories of respondents registered sizeable majorities (71.6% of Headteachers, 77.3% of parents, 71.4% of students and 62.5% of tutors) in favour of increasing the period of time spent by students in schools (by the amounts proposed by the DFE).
- Both Headteacher (63.7%) and tutor (57.1%) responses favoured moves to establish partnerships where schools would play a more significant role in teacher training.
- 61.8% of Headteachers favoured the transfer of resources to schools to reflect 'their increased role in such partnerships', whereas only 26.5% of tutors did so, with 46.9% against and 26.5% neutral.

(Hannan, 1995:27)

As Hannan concludes,

There seems to be very little evidence here of a groundswell of support from Headteachers for the underlying ideological position represented by the government's plans to shift the location of primary teacher training from HE and into the schools themselves. Rather, there was a strong backing for the notion of partnership and for the part played by HE in the process of teacher preparation. (Hannan, 1995: 27)

However, there was enough dissatisfaction with the status quo for 63.7% of the Headteachers and 57.1% of the HE tutors surveyed to support moves to establish partnerships where schools would play a more significant role in teacher training, with 61.8% of Headteachers favouring the transfer of resources to schools to reflect their increased role in such partnerships (for details see Hannan, 1993). It is also worthy of note that dissatisfaction with the part then played by HE was sufficient for the majority of Headteachers, parents, students and HE tutors themselves to support significant increases in the percentage of time student teachers were to spend in schools. As with

the vast bulk of my own surveys described above, this dissatisfaction was with courses validated under the 1989 CATE criteria, not the subsequent 1992 and 1993 criteria which increased time in school. Thus, 71.6% of Headteachers, 77.3% of parents, 71.4% of students and 62.5% of tutors were in favour of increasing the period of time student teachers spent in schools by the amounts proposed by the DFE (for details see Hannan, 1994).

The 1994 SCOP Survey of Headteachers

The largest survey of Headteachers undertaken was the Standing Committee of Directors and Principals of Colleges and Institutes of Higher Education (SCOP). This surveyed 1202 Primary Headteachers in England and Wales in December 1993/ January 1994. The questionnaire asked Headteachers if they would wish to take a major, an equal or a minor responsibility (in partnership with the HEIs) for the various aspects of teacher training. In common with the other surveys, this also showed that an overwhelming number have strong reservations about accepting a major share of the responsibility for the training of teachers.

The only area in which Headteachers preferred a major responsibility was in guiding and supervising students within the school, and assessing the students' professional competencies (2). These are roles they had already been undertaking. However, in these roles, Headteachers commonly had a shared responsibility with HEI tutors, not a major responsibility.

Only *twelve* of the one thousand two hundred and two Headteachers wanted to take the major share of responsibility for the intellectual and pedagogical development of trainee teachers. One thousand and thirty-eight favoured only a minor responsibility in providing student welfare support. Nine hundred wanted a minimal involvement in course design, while eight hundred and forty preferred a minimal involvement in monitoring the quality of course provision. More than 70% expressed a preference for a shared or major responsibility in developing the students' competence in curriculum content, planning and assessment. Fewer than 25% wanted a shared or major responsibility in improving the students' subject knowledge in relation to the curriculum in primary schools.

The survey showed a 'clear indication' from Headteachers that 'schools feel they have much more to contribute to the practical application of the students' knowledge to the curriculum rather than the further development of the students' personal subject knowledge' (SCOP, 1994:2 of commentary).

Headteachers clearly desired a greater role in ITE than held prior to the various school-basing measures associated with Licensed Teachers, Articled Teachers, Circular 9/92 for Secondary Schools and Circular 13/93 for Primary Schools. For guiding and supervising students within the school, 93.3% of respondents indicated they would wish to accept a major or shared responsibility with Higher Education Institutions, and 85.4% would like a similar responsibility for assessing students' professional competencies. Even here though, only three hundred and twenty-one of the one thousand, two hundred and two Headteachers surveyed wanted a shared responsibility in the quality-monitoring role, with the majority – eight hundred and forty – wanting a minimal involvement only. Only forty-two Headteachers wanted a major responsibility for assessing the quality of training (most wanted shared responsibility), and only twenty Headteachers wanted a major responsibility in setting objectives and devising programmes for schools. Most (70.5%) wanted only a minor responsibility here.

The main points raised in the responses to school-based 'teacher training' were concerned with the 'inevitable lowering of standards' and the difficulties of moderating many thousands of schools. There was a fear that selection would become parochial, with schools recruiting 'in their own image' or 'clones' -this was seen as likely to perpetuate the bad as well as the good in the teaching at that school.

Headteachers expressed a concern that the proposed changes would attract a student of inferior calibre, one believing that practice is all that is needed, without academic rigour and theoretical base. They suggested that the lack of standing and professional credibility would reduce the application rate -'trained at St. Wotsits Primary School is not a valuable CV entry.' They also questioned whether students would choose to study in a school with problems and in socially deprived areas. They also felt it would be an isolated, even solitary, activity for both school and trainee.

The 1993 Ofsted *New Teacher in School* Report

This survey showed a high degree of Headteacher satisfaction with ITE courses (again, completed prior to the introduction of CATE Circulars 9/ 92 and 14/ 93) : 94% of secondary and 91% of primary heads considered that the new teachers had been at least *adequately prepared* for their new posts; 73% felt that the new teachers had been *well prepared*. More secondary (85%) than primary (64%) Heads felt their new teachers had been 'very well prepared' or 'well-prepared' (grades 1 and 2). Primary Heads felt training provided a broad foundation for future professional development but that it 'had not always been able to equip teachers equally effectively to teach the full range of National Curriculum subjects'. (Ofsted, 1993b: para. 4.4, p.25). Secondary Heads, though, felt that training courses had prepared new teachers to teach their main and subsidiary subjects very effectively.

There were similarly high levels of satisfaction with the professional competence of new teachers. In secondary schools, 89% of heads graded new teachers highly, compared with 78% in primary schools. High levels of satisfaction were expressed with the personal qualities of recruits. Academic competence, too, was rated highly by 90% of Headteachers. All the figures are similar to those in the HMI 1988 Report (HMI, 1988). There was no evidence here of decline in Headteacher satisfaction with NQTs.

The Report did *not* provide optimistic evidence about the capacity of schools to take more responsibility for teacher education. There are pejorative comments about the quality of support for some students, especially weaker students, during induction programmes once in post.

The Surveys of 2001 Headteachers: Summary and Conclusion

Collectively, these four surveys received the responses of 2001 Headteachers. This was around 8% of all Headteachers in England and Wales. The SCOP and DAPH/ Hannan surveys were restricted to Primary Headteachers, the Hill and the Hannan reports covered both Primary and Secondary schools. The Hill surveys show very little difference between Primary and Secondary Headteachers levels of satisfaction and

dissatisfaction with undergraduate ITE courses. However, it is apparent that Secondary Headteachers were more satisfied with PGCE courses than Primary, and here the degree of *dissatisfaction*, at 34%, is notable.

All four surveys examined Headteacher reactions to the school-basing of ITE, but sustained different emphases in the questions they asked. Thus the Hill and the Carrington/Tymms surveys focused on Headteacher satisfaction with the quality of ITE provision. The Hill and the DAPH/ Hannan surveys focused on the division of responsibilities between schools and HEIs for aspects of course provision. The Hill survey probed Headteacher views on the role of theory in ITE. The SCOP survey did not make specific reference to the role of theory, or reflection or social justice issues within ITE. However, it did give space for comments indicating a need for professionals to be properly trained to a high intellectual level, and a recognition that the best practice is intellectually informed by and responsive to the latest research.

The evidence from the various surveys of Headteachers leads to significant conclusions for teacher education policy. Firstly, *The New Teacher in School* 1993 report from Ofsted, complemented by the four local and national studies, reveals a teacher education system which, *prior to the implementation of the major changes contained within CATE Circulars 9/92 and 14/93*, was operating at least satisfactorily and in many respects well, according to Headteachers. Secondly, there was considerable concern and anxiety among Headteachers about key elements in the Government's teacher education reform programme. Thirdly, a range of official reports and individual research studies pointed to the danger of moving to an overwhelmingly school-based or school-centred model of ITE. The well-resourced Articled Teacher scheme (where postgraduates spent 80% of their time in schools and where both students and schools were both funded) tended, for example, to promote more of a dependency culture and higher anxiety levels than the conventional PGCE route. Articled Teachers themselves expressed a strong desire to spend more time in higher education, away from classrooms, at certain stages of their courses (Jacques, 1991; Furlong et al, 2000). Fourthly, attention was drawn to the need to spend time and energy developing and refining innovative forms of partnership between schools and higher education. Fifthly, there were calls that recognition should be made that schools, especially primary schools, were generally unprepared to take a lead in planning, delivering and maintaining quality in teacher education and training.

If Headteachers were expressing considerable satisfaction with the operation of ITE under the CATE 1989 criteria, what of other groups in the education community?

Part Two: The Views of Teachers, Inspectors, Other Agencies and Teacher Educators

The Views of Teachers: The 1995 University of the West of England/ National Union of Teachers Report

In July 1995 the University of the West of England and the National Union of Teachers published *Learning the Lessons: Reform in Initial Teacher Training* (UWE/ NUT, 1995), the final report of an Autumn 1994 survey into the views of staff in schools and higher education institutions concerning the current reforms to Initial Teacher Education. One hundred and fifty-nine NUT school representatives and one hundred and forty-four school teachers with responsibility for co-ordinating students responded, from a random sample of five hundred NUT representatives and five hundred student co-ordinators.

List of the Main Findings of the Learning the Lessons Report, 1994

- The majority of school and HEI respondents believed that in the division of responsibility between schools and higher education institutions, under Circulars 9/92 (35/92) and 14/93 (62/93), too much was placed on schools. The division was perceived to be about right by 44% of secondary but by only 16% of primary co-ordinators, by approximately a fifth of both secondary and primary NUT representatives and by over a third of HEIs. (ibid:1).
- Over 45% of secondary school staff with training responsibilities were said to have received no allocation of time to carry out their work with students. Of those allocated time, nearly 57% of co-ordinators perceived the allocation as insufficient for themselves and more than 72% perceived it as insufficient for other staff. (UWE/ NUT, 1995:1)

(Continued overleaf)

List of the Main Findings of the Learning the Lessons Report, 1994 (Continued)

- The impact of the transfer of resources from HEIs to schools was leading HEIs to reduce the number of part-time staff (42%), to reduce the number of full-time staff (45%), to diversify activities (66%), to seek to increase student numbers (40%), and to look for cross-subsidy within their institution (19%).(idem).
- Around 90% of both primary and secondary co-ordinators and NUT representatives believed that involvement in training students increases teachers' workloads and adds to the pressure on teachers. (idem).
- Over 54% of secondary co-ordinators and over 70% of primary co-ordinators agreed that a disadvantage for teachers in training students is the time taken away from teaching pupils (idem).
- The view that being involved with the training of students in school led to an improvement in teachers' practice was supported – 90% of secondary co-ordinators agreed or strongly agreed (idem).
- Over 95% of secondary and over 76% of primary co-ordinators agreed or strongly agreed that involvement in training students leads teachers to reflect on their own professional practice (idem).
- 66% of secondary and 41% of primary co-ordinators, 41% of secondary and 43% of primary NUT representatives believed working with students made teachers' work more interesting (idem).
- The concept of partnership underpinning best practice received wide support: the evidence showed that significant numbers of teachers continued to believe that their involvement in ITT would generate professional benefits for them and their schools (ibid:6).
- Increasing difficulty was reported in finding sufficient schools (particularly secondary) to commit themselves to 'partnership' with the HE institutions -some schools which had been involved hitherto in ITT were withdrawing (idem).

As a wide-ranging report from a significant number of school teachers, the results are clearly important, and help counter what might be seen as the professional self-interest of HEI staff/teacher educators in criticizing the reforms.

It is clear that both schools and HEIs were positive about some aspects of the reforms in ITE, although many at both believed the responsibilities under the new arrangements now weighed much too heavily on schools. A number of significant problems, either arising or anticipated, related particularly to roles and responsibilities of teachers and lecturers, to the resourcing of training and to quality. (ibid:48).

The research revealed strong professional commitment, in the schools that had chosen to be involved, and also in HEIs, to the continued involvement of teachers in the education and development of future members of the profession. There was an equal commitment on both sides of the partnership to a continuing major role for higher education in Initial Teacher Training. In this light, it was suggested that the reduction in staffing levels in HEIs revealed by this research might become a matter of considerable concern (idem). The ITE school-basing reforms were at an early stage, particularly in the primary sector. However, the Report recognised that if adjustments were made, and flexibility in interpretation of the criteria was to become accepted, anxieties would diminish. Nonetheless, the UWE/ NUT report indicated that the quality of training would be diluted and that students and pupils might suffer, concluding that it was very important to continue research and monitoring.

HMI/ Ofsted Opinions

The 1988 HMI Report *The New Teacher in School* did not see much of a problem with NQTs. Their classroom performance was judged to be about the same as that of more experienced teachers. Moreover, these NQTs from BEd and PGCE courses had been virtually unaffected by the CATE 1984 and CATE 1989 improvements to ITE critical teacher education courses, such as regular classroom teaching 'refreshers' for ITE, 'professional/curriculum studies' and 'education studies' lecturers.

In some respects, the 1993 Ofsted Report gave a cleaner bill of health to ITE courses, and to 'education studies' components, than did the 1988 Report. Similarly, the 1993 Ofsted Report *The Secondary PGCE in Universities 1991-92* showed that 45 of 48 subject courses seen were good (16 courses) or satisfactory (29 courses). (Ofsted 1993c).

The 1995 Ofsted Report: School-Centred Initial Teacher Training

This was a major report/review of school-based or school-centred 'teacher training' by Ofsted. It is worth looking at its findings in some detail. The report itself (Ofsted, 1995a) and some press coverage (e.g. MacLeod, 1995 in *The Guardian*) gave a more negative evaluation than the Ofsted News Release, which proclaimed that 'the first year of the new school-centred initial teacher training (SCITT) schemes has for the most part produced effectively trained teachers'. (Ofsted, 1995b).

The Ofsted Report reviewed the progress of the first six SCITT courses, which started in September 1993 with one hundred and fifty students. The six schemes or consortia involved thirty-two schools/ colleges recruiting their own graduates for one-year training. Five of the consortia offered a course leading to a secondary phase PGCE validated by an HEI. The sixth awarded its own qualification with QTS. This scheme did not involve HEI participation at all.

In September 1995, nineteen school consortia, involving one hundred and twenty schools in England, offered six hundred places to train graduates, including ninety as Primary teachers. The Report and the Press Release point out that the scheme was being evaluated during and after its first year of operation.

List of the Main Shortcomings of SCITT, found in 1995

- Standards of the students' teaching were at least satisfactory in 74 % of the lessons seen, and good or very good in 34 % – but this was poorer than the proportions of 84 % and 42 % respectively for established secondary PGCE courses.
 - The standard of tutoring and mentoring was satisfactory or better in just over 80 % of the sessions, although there were few high quality settings.
 - The quality of training in general professional studies was satisfactory, although effectiveness was sometimes limited by excessive content in individual sessions, by changes to the programme and limited integration with the rest of the training.
- Almost 86 % of SCITT students showed a level of subject knowledge that was at least satisfactory, while slightly over a third demonstrated good or very good levels.

(Continued overleaf)

List of the Main Shortcomings of SCITT, found in 1995 (Continued)

- This compares with 91% of a national sample of students on PGCE courses who were considered satisfactory or better, and almost half (45%) with good or very good levels. Taken together, the standard of lesson planning and adoption of appropriate teaching strategies in the first year of the school-centred courses was below that in established PGCE courses. The latter showed almost 87% of the students performing at a satisfactory or better level, while 80% of SCITT students fell lower in the same range. Although this does not appear to be a major difference in attainment, it is worthy of note since it is in precisely these competencies that SCITT courses were expected to excel. For most SCITT students, the relatively large amount of time spent in classrooms bore fruit in respect of classroom management. Even so, overall standards were slightly below those of PGCE students on established courses, due largely to the modest performance of technology students. Around 82% demonstrated competencies that were at least satisfactory and 35% were good or very good, compared with 90% and 45% respectively for established courses.
- Overall, 85% had made satisfactory or better progress with their further professional development. However, the fact that only 35% demonstrated good or very good standards is somewhat surprising, particularly since established PGCE courses, offering less time in schools, produce somewhat better results. Standards in individual consortia varied, but in most, there were missed opportunities due to a belief that the school-centred nature of the course would, without any formal planning, develop and enhance the students' further and professional development.
- Most students were given insufficient encouragement and guidance to evaluate their own teaching, and their competence in this area was less well developed than in other secondary PGCE courses. With the exception of two consortia where standards were good, lesson evaluations were weak and often hampered the students' ability to teach high quality lessons. In making judgements, the pupils' learning was often ignored, the emphasis being placed upon the management of the class. In the lessons seen, the standard of the students' teaching was at least satisfactory in 74% of the lessons and good or very good in 34%. This is poorer than the 84% and 42% respectively for established PGCE courses.

(Continued overleaf)

List of the Main Shortcomings of SCITT, found in 1995 (Continued)

- In assessing the overall standard of the students' teaching competencies, albeit at an early stage in the development of SCITT courses, 81% of the SCITT students achieved levels that were satisfactory or better, compared with 91 % on other PGCE courses. The relative lack of higher levels of performance suggests a generally satisfactory level of competence from SCITT courses, with comparatively few students showing flair or originality.
- About a quarter of the SCITT teaching seen was good, but none was very good. Many tutors found difficulty in gauging an appropriate level of expectation for the students' work, so that for many students there was insufficient challenge outside the classroom. In some cases, this was exacerbated by a lack of knowledge among the school-based tutors about different teaching materials, alternative approaches to learning and relevant research.
- In five of the consortia, validation was provided by HEIs, and this process, to varying degrees, strengthened course provision.
- Where no formal programme existed, in some cases the attainment of the students became very dependent on the experience and knowledge of subject mentors. Some courses allowed little time for students to read and to reflect upon their experience. Here, basic levels of competence were reached but little further progress was made.
- The main problem faced by the students was easy access to good library collections. Some consortia managed to secure rights for their students at HEI libraries, but these were seldom nearby. All the consortia have started small collections of general and subject-specific texts. However, routine reading and research for written assignments was made difficult and, in some cases, the quality of the students' work was adversely affected.

These reservations about SCITT schemes replicate concerns widely expressed at the time of their introduction. However, benefits were gained, according to the report's educational consultant, including

the galvanising effects of hosting a cohort of enthusiastic trainees throughout a whole school year and the job enrichment and staff development which resulted from sustained involvement of teachers in all aspects of training. An additional bonus was the opportunity created to recruit good teachers trained closely to the schools' requirements.

Almost without exception the trainees spoke of their satisfaction with the quality of the training and of their attraction to the particular style of SCITT which gave them both the status of a novice teacher and additional time in school. (Ofsted, 1995a:ii).

This approbation picks up some of the potential benefits of a greater degree of school-basing (greater than under the 1989 CATE criteria), identified by the University of the West of England and National Union of Teachers Report of July 1995. (UWE/ NUT, 1995).

Other Evaluations of School-Based ITE Schemes and Curricular Change

Various types of school-based ITE have been criticized in a range of reports (HMI, 1991; DENI, 1991; NFER, 1991; Ofsted, 1995a; TTA, 1999) and in the wide ranging topology of ITE, the Modes of Teacher Education (MOTE) Interim Report (Barrett et al., 1992, updated in Furlong *et al*, 2000). These official and semi-official reports have criticized school-based models of ITE for lack of consultation with teachers and teacher educators about the nature of the school-college partnership, and who does what best, for the general unwillingness of schools to take the lead in ITE, and for the limitations of school-based training.

Various national and localised evaluations of the school-based ITE schemes (Ofsted, 1995a; Hill, 1993a; Pyke, 1995; Furlong *et al*, 2000) identify intrinsic problems.

List of Other Intrinsic Problems found in School-Based ITE Schemes

- over-loading of schools
- cost of Articled Teacher bursaries, and of the one-to-one ratio between mentors and articled teachers and licensed teachers, and on school-based PGCE and BEd schemes
- apparent desire among Articled teachers for less time in school and more sustained time in college
- concern about the context-specificity of most school-based schemes.

The Hillcole Group has summarized these problems as follows:

Evaluative evidence of current school-based training has pointed out weaknesses that need to be remedied. Where schools have taken a major role in the professional aspects of training (i.e. the Articled Teacher Scheme), evaluation reports have shown some serious limitations both in terms of resources and expertise in training postgraduate students. Articled Teachers themselves expressed a strong wish to spend more time at college at the onset of the course. Trainees on this route develop a dependency culture and, in comparison with postgraduate trainees on the normal route, are more anxiety-prone. We disregard to our cost the immense amount of peer group support and the value of shared experience that takes place in the normal route, but which is denied to those on the heavily school-based training programmes. (Hillcole Group, 1993:10-11).

The Views of Teacher Educators

A number of teacher educators assessed Radical right proposals and policy on ITE in the late 1980s, and rather more in the mid-1990s (3). In Craft's words 'training efficient technicians is a very worthwhile activity, but this is neither the role of teacher education, nor the requirement of the nation'. (Craft, 1990:77). In April 1991, a Universities Council for the Education of Teachers (UCET) Press Conference and Press Release attacked the misrepresentation of Initial Teacher Education work, and suggested that the theory/practice polarization was not an appropriate way of categorizing the content of ITT courses because they fully integrate theory and practice. At the press conference, Tony Becher of Sussex University said 'The Tory Party has become dominated by the raving right. Some of the things they are saying are complete falsehoods'. (UCET, 1991).

Teacher educators commented numerously and vociferously in reaction to the 1992 DES criteria for Secondary ITE courses (Circular 9/92), and to the 1993 Circular 14/ 93 criteria for Primary ITE with its preceding consultation documents, which included the contentious 'Mum's Army ' proposals. (DFE, 1993c). Support from Radical Right-wing sources could not sustain the 'Mum's Army ' scheme, which was almost universally criticized by teachers as well as by teacher educators, by Labour and Liberal Democrat Parties, and by parents' and governors' organizations. They were also savaged in the House of Lords on a cross-party basis (4), and subsequently dropped.

Groups and initiatives such as 'The Future of Teacher Training' group, the 'Imaginative Projects' group and the Hillcole Group, responded to Conservative reforms in detail (as discussed in Chapters Four and Five). Widespread opposition to Conservative Government plans and policies for ITE in the 1990s was expressed in academic journals (e.g. Whitty, 1992, 1993; Gilroy, 1992), in journalistic articles (e.g. Barber, 1993b; Price, 1994; Wragg, 1991, 1992, 1993), at conferences such as those of the British Educational Research Association (BERA) in 1992, 1993 and 1994, and through the Universities' Council for the Education of Teachers (UCET) and the Polytechnics' Council for the Education of Teachers (PCET). Opposition was also expressed by the Labour Party (1991; 1993; 1994 until it became New Labour), by the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) (Barber and Brighouse, 1992; IPPR, 1993), the Hillcole Group (1991; 1993b); the Institute for Education Policy Studies (whose 1992 Conference against Kenneth Clarke's pre-Circular 14/92 proposals I organized and which was attended by delegates from over forty HEIs), and by my own and many other publications. (5).

Part Three: The Views of Newly Qualified Teachers, 1989-1996, and of Final-Year Primary Undergraduate Student Teachers, 1993-1996

The evidence presented here derives from official reports (HMI, 1988; Ofsted, 1993b), and from my own larger scale longitudinal and comparative survey of 1159 NQTs and of 423 primary undergraduate and 74 secondary undergraduate final year student teachers (a total of 497 final year undergraduate student teachers).

The New Teacher in School Reports of 1988 (HMI) and 1993 (Ofsted)

Evaluation by Newly Qualified Teachers of their ITE courses in the 1988 HMI report showed that half of those surveyed thought too much time was spent on courses in education studies:

education studies had received too much emphasis while the more practical aspects such as teaching method, classroom observation and teaching practice had received too little. (HMI, 1988: 4).

In the 1993 Report, however, NQTs were satisfied that the range of their previous teaching experiences had prepared them suitably for their first post. Just like the Headteachers surveyed in the 1993 Ofsted Report, the NQTs surveyed in the same document were, by the time the 1989 CATE criteria were effective, more satisfied with their ITE courses than those surveyed five years earlier. Of new teachers, 89% considered their 'training' had been a positive experience, which adequately prepared them for a first post. A high proportion (69% secondary and 61% primary) considered their 'training' to be 'good' or 'very good'. Only 9% of secondary and 13% of primary teachers described this 'training' as 'unsatisfactory' or 'poor'.

The Government's 'news management' of the 1993 Ofsted report ensured that its findings were presented in a highly selective way, and could justify subsequent Government claims that one third of lessons taken by new entrants to teaching was unsatisfactory. (DFE, 1993d). The Report itself, however, stated that

teaching of the 300 new teachers seen in England and Wales was at least satisfactory in almost three-quarters of cases. This proportion closely matches that of teachers in general. (Ofsted, 1993b: 8).

This Ofsted report did not indicate that ITE was failing students. Nine out of ten new teachers regarded their training positively.

However, within this global total, differences between the views of one-year 'trained' PGCE NQTs and the views of four-year 'trained' BEd/ BA (QTS) NQTs are apparent. Primary BEd 'trained' NQTs were far more satisfied with their training (with 74% expressing themselves 'very satisfied' or 'quite satisfied' with their ITE course) than Primary PGCE 'trained' NQTs. Only 44% of these expressed themselves as 'very satisfied' or 'quite satisfied' with their ITE course. Only 8% of Primary BEd 'trained' NQTs were 'less than satisfied', compared with 20% of Primary PGCE trained NQTs. As far as the HEI-based elements of their courses were concerned, NQTs were well satisfied, with two thirds of them finding 'Education Studies' useful. This is in marked contrast to the view in the 1988 Report that excessive weight had been given to this element. There was a widely shared view that college courses were well co-ordinated with individual components relating well to each other. Links between college

and work in school were considered to be well established. As suggested above, it is very likely that the higher levels of satisfaction in 1993 with some aspects of ITE courses, as compared with 1988, may be due to the changes in courses implemented in accordance with the 1989 CATE criteria.

The new teachers valued their school experience very much. They praised the excellent preparation and support received from both college and school, they valued having taught a range of classes in different school settings and were appreciative of opportunities to observe experienced teachers. New teachers were well satisfied by the quality of college supervision, though secondary teachers more so than primary (72% of secondary teachers graded supervision at 1 or 2 on the 5-point ranking scale, compared with 59% of primary).

The Hill Survey of NQTs and Student Teachers (1989-1996)

These surveys of BEd and BA(QTS) NQTs and student teachers are of those whose courses were designed and validated prior to the 1992 and 1993 CATE criteria (so too are the overwhelming majority of student teachers and NQTs educated/trained on one year PGCE courses).

A number of questions asked in this survey sought to test whether or not Radical Right complaints about ITE were shared by NQTs and by student teachers. For example, did they agree with the contentions of the Radical Right that there was too little emphasis on practical skills and too much on contextual and theoretical issues? This extended the questions also raised by the HMI 1988 and Ofsted 1993 *New Teacher in School* Report (Ofsted, 1993b), since NQTs and student teachers were asked to rate their ITE course on contextual-theoretical content – on how well it prepared them for teaching 'children from different cultural backgrounds,' 'socially deprived children', and 'equal opportunities for boys and girls'. The respondents were also asked to rate their courses in terms of the emphasis on anti-racism, anti-sexism, social egalitarianism (anti-classism), critical theory (critiquing the relationship between teachers, schools and society), on the teacher as a non-political classroom practitioner or as a political activist, critically evaluating and questioning current practice and developments in education, democratic participative

pedagogy, becoming a teacher who is a transformative intellectual (transforming children's view of society), and the importance of theory. These questions were asked *in addition* to the standard range of questions asked by HMI/Ofsted on, for example, preparation for teaching reading and mathematics.

The results from my own NQT survey are set out with the student teacher data in parenthesis, alongside the main body of data. The results I have published previously (6) do not differentiate between undergraduate and postgraduate trained teachers. Neither do the HMI (1982, 1988) and Ofsted (1993) reports. In the data presented below it is possible, for the first time, to differentiate between undergraduate and postgraduate, Primary and Secondary college-based and school-based (Articled Teacher) routes.

First, I set out the *overall* responses from 1159 NQTs and the 423 final year undergraduate Primary student teachers. Second, I distinguish between the evaluations from Primary and Secondary undergraduates and postgraduate, and Primary Articled Teacher respondents.

In the questionnaire, 36 questions were about levels of satisfaction with *aspects of preparation for teaching*, while 21 questions were about the *balance of emphasis* within the ITE course. The overall levels of satisfaction with ITE courses as such, follows in Table 3.2.

The salient points are that (i) of 1159 NQTs questioned, only 5% are 'less than satisfied' or 'dissatisfied' with their ITE course, with 68% 'moderately satisfied' or 'very satisfied' (ii) responses from the four hundred and ninety-seven final year undergraduate student teachers is similar, with only 4% 'less than satisfied' or 'dissatisfied', 65% 'well satisfied' or 'reasonably well satisfied' with their ITE courses. These are courses, it is worth repeating, designed and run prior to the CATE Criteria of 1992 and 1993, and, of course, prior to the New Labour National Curriculum for Teacher Training.

Overall NQT and Student Teacher Satisfaction with ITE Courses

The responses of NQTs and of Student Teachers surveyed are shown separately, on *Tables 3.2(a)* and *3.2(b)*. In both tables, null responses have been disregarded.

Table 3.2(a): Primary Undergraduate 'Trained' NQT Course Evaluation: Levels of Overall Satisfaction with ITE Course

Key:

Crawley BEd figures are in **bold**

WSIHE/ChiHE Main Site figures in *italics*

Figures for 'All' in standard typeface. (Note that this figure refers to all 1159 NQTs surveyed between 1989 and 1996. This includes Postgraduate as well as Undergraduate 'trained' NQTs, and Secondary as well as Primary).

	Crawley		WSIHE/ ChiHE Main Site			All 4-yr Prim NQTs	All NQTs
Response (Q6)							
	1995 n=10	1994 n=16	<i>1995 n=44</i>	<i>1994 n=44</i>	<i>1993 n=24</i>	1989-96 n=479	1989-96 n=1159
well satisfied	10%	13%	<i>21%</i>	<i>27%</i>	<i>17%</i>	14%	16%
reasonably well satisfied	40%	53%	<i>53%</i>	<i>50%</i>	<i>63%</i>	57%	52%
moderately satisfied	20%	27%	<i>21%</i>	<i>18%</i>	<i>8%</i>	25%	27%
less than satisfied	30%	7%	<i>2%</i>	<i>2%</i>	<i>8%</i>	3%	4%
dissatisfied	0%	0%	<i>2%</i>	<i>2%</i>	<i>4%</i>	1%	1%

Table 3.2(b): Primary Undergraduate Student Teacher Final Year Course
Evaluation: Overall Satisfaction with ITE course.

	Crawley			WSIHE Main Site			[South Coast University.]		ALL Prim. Ugrad	ALL Prim. and Sec. Ugrad & Post-grad
Response (Q.6)										
	1994 n=19	1995 n=26	1996 n=23	1994 n=21	1995 n=84	1996 n=104	1994 n=62	1995 n=84	1994-96 n=423	1994-96 n= 497
well satisfied	6%	8%	19%	0%	5%	16%	5%	5%	8%	9%
reason-ably well satisfied	61%	50%	52%	65%	44%	72%	54%	52%	57%	56%
moder-ately satisfied	28%	31%	24%	25%	49%	12%	36%	34%	30%	30%
less than satisfied	0%	12%	5%	10%	1%	1%	5%	9%	4%	4%
dissatis-fied	6%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Detailed Results

NQT and Student Teacher satisfaction with preparation for teaching and with the emphasis on various aspects of ITE Courses

Of the 57 individual ITE course aspects surveyed, the highest levels of NQT satisfaction with their preparation for teaching ('well satisfied', 'satisfied', and 'moderately satisfied') related to being prepared to promote equal opportunities for boys and girls, being given

a good or acceptable understanding of the importance of language in learning, being given a good or acceptable preparation to assess the effectiveness of their own teaching, being given a good or acceptable understanding of how to plan a programme of work over a period of time, being prepared to teach mixed ability groups, being given a good or acceptable understanding of the place of their main subject within the whole curriculum, and being given a good or acceptable preparation for classroom management.

Table 3.3: Degrees of Satisfaction by Student Teachers and by NQTs with Aspects of their Preparation for Teaching

	Primary Student Teachers (4-Yr. undergraduate) n = 423	NQTs n = 1159
Q7o. Prepared to promote equal opportunities for boys and girls	93%	93%
Q7a. Prepared to plan a programme of work over a period of time	86%	83%
Q7k. Prepared to teach mixed ability groups	88%	82%
Q7g. Prepared to assess the effectiveness of (their) own teaching	82%	84%
Q7b. Prepared for classroom management	78%	78%
Q7e..Given an understanding of the importance of language in learning	95%	87%
Q7d. Given an understanding of the place of (their) main subject in the whole curriculum	92%	82%

Degrees of satisfaction with the balance of/ emphasis on 21 aspects within ITE courses

The second type of question used to elicit degrees of course satisfaction concerns the 'balance of courses' – were they dominated by political or educational dogma? Was there too much emphasis on anti-racism and equal opportunities issues in general?

Highest levels of satisfaction with course balance/emphasis

There were very high levels of student and Newly Qualified Teacher satisfaction with the emphases on education studies, on academic subjects, classroom observation, anti-racism, anti-sexism, social egalitarianism, the critical evaluation of the relationships between teachers, schools and society and the critical analysis of current practices and developments in education (as shown in *Table 3.4*).

Table 3.4: Highest Levels of Satisfaction with the Balance of/ Emphasis on Aspects of Courses

	Much too much emphasis on		Acceptable/ right amount of emphasis		Much too little emphasis on	
	Prim. U/grad Students n=243	NQTs n=1159	Students n=243	NQT n=1159	Students n=243	NQTs n=1159
Q8a. Education studies	(1)	5	(71)	62	(3)	3
Q8h. Egalitarianism	(3)	6	(52)	59	(13)	6
Q8u. Theory	(2)	8	(62)	52	(2)	3
Q8q. Critique of the current education system	(0)	3	(62)	61	(6)	5
Q8s. Teacher as a political activist	(5)	7	(52)	61	(10)	5

Note: Figures in %

Lowest levels of satisfaction with aspects of preparation for teaching

As shown in *Table 3.5* (below), the four aspects of teaching for which respondents felt least well prepared were: teaching children with special educational needs in ordinary (mainstream) schools, liaison with the community, teaching pupils for public examinations (this question applied to Secondary teachers only), and performing administrative duties.

Table 3.5: Lowest Levels of Satisfaction with Aspects of Preparation for Teaching

	Very well or well prepared		Acceptably prepared		Not very well or poorly prepared	
	Students n=243	NQTs n=1159	Students n=243	NQTs n=1159	Students n=243	NQTs n=1159
Q7l. To teach children with special ed. needs in ordinary schools	(27)	27	(35)	29	(37)	44
Q7C. For liaison with community	(32)	23	(32)	30	(27)	56
Q7v. To teach pupils for public examinations (secondary only)	(-)	21	(-)	22	(-)	57
Q7m. To teach children from different cultural backgrounds	(25)	34	(33)	32	(42)	35
Q7D. To use teaching to help pupils understand the economic system	(17)	10	(29)	23	(54)	67
Q7f. To assess pupils' work	(23)	24	(39)	38	(38)	38
Q7A..To perform administrative duties	(26)	21	(34)	27	(40)	51

Note: Figures in %.

Among the course aspects viewed as having too little emphasis (set out in *Table 3.6*) were special needs, information technology, teaching practice, teaching methods, school/college links and child development.

Table 3.6: Lowest Levels of Satisfaction with Balance of/ Emphasis on Aspects of Courses

	Much too much emphasis on		Acceptable/ right amount		Much too little	
	Students n=243	NQTs n=1159	Students n=243	NQTs n=1159	Students n=243	NQTs n=1159
Q8l. Special needs	(0)	0	(33)	33	(18)	23
Q8m. Information Technology	(1)	1	(38)	36	(21)	22
Q8e. Teaching practice	(1)	1	(53)	58	(14)	13
Q8b. Teaching methods	(0)	2	(50)	53	(11)	9
Q8k. Child development	(0)	1	(49)	48	15	13
Q8n. School/ College links	(0)	1	(50)	51	(12)	13

Note: Figures in %

Satisfaction with the balance of/ emphasis on contextual/ political aspects of courses

The following data in *Table 3.7* indicates that student teachers want more, rather than less, 'political', 'egalitarian' and 'contextual' courses – *precisely those aspects of ITE being emasculated by the Government criteria for ITE, in Circulars 9/ 92 and 14/ 93.*

Table 3.7: High Levels of Satisfaction with Balance of/ Emphasis on Contextual/ Political Aspects of Courses

	Much too much emphasis on		Acceptable/ right amount		Much too little	
	Students n=243	NQTs n=1159	Students n=243	NQTs n=1159	Students n=243	NQTs n=1159
Q8s..Teacher as a political activist	(5)	7	(52)	61	(10)	5
Q8r..Democratic pedagogy	(0)	2	(62)	56	(8)	6
Q8q..Critiquing the current education system	(0)	3	(62)	61	(6)	5
Q8f..Anti-racism	(2)	6	(55)	60	(12)	4
Q8g..Anti-sexism	(3)	7	(57)	62	(11)	4
Q8h..Egalitarianism	(3)	6	(52)	59	(13)	6
Q8i..Critical theory (critiquing the relationship between teachers, schools and society)	(1)	6	(52)	50	(10)	4
Q8t. Becoming a teacher who is a 'transformative intellectual' (wishing to transform children's view of society)	(2)	3	(58)	69	(10)	4
Q8u. Theory	(2)	8	(62)	52	(2)	3

Note: Figures in %

A Comparison of the Responses from the School-Based Articled Teacher Scheme with Responses from the HEI-Based PGCE and Four-Year BEd / BA(QTS) Courses

The 1993 Ofsted *New Teacher in School* Report suggests that Primary BEd students perform better than Primary PGCE students in their first year, and rate their courses much more highly. Government changes to course structures and to course lengths should have been set against the Ofsted findings on the BEd, since there are aspects of course assessment by BEd students where the ratings are much higher than for the PGCE. These relate both to National Curriculum subject preparation and wider professional aspects, such as planning for continuity and progression, cross-curricular issues, language development, equal opportunities practice and knowledge of the legislative framework. From the evidence provided in this chapter about the views of Headteachers, teacher educators, NQTs and student teachers, integrated and sustained programmes of professional development within a pre-1992/93 BEd structure should not have been lightly abandoned.

Different types of ITE course do appear to affect responses by NQTs. Articled Teachers spent 80% of their two-year course in schools, and 20% in college. These show notably higher levels of satisfaction with 'practical training' aspects of their ITE than do BEd and PGCE trained NQTs, but much higher levels of dissatisfaction with the relative paucity of 'theoretical' aspects. This is evident from the tables below. It should be noted, however, that there were fifty-seven Primary Articled Teacher respondents, most of whom trained at the same HEI. Therefore such data and conclusions should be treated with caution, even though aligning with conclusions reached in other reports (such as Jacques, 1991 and HMI, 1991). Furlong et al (2000) summarize similar conclusions from the MOTE and other research.

Table 3.8: NQT Respondents and their Types of Course Surveyed in the Hill NQT Survey

Total	Primary Articled Teacher	Secondary Articled Teacher	Primary BEd/ BA (QTS)	Secondary BEd/ BA (QTS)	Primary PGCE One year	Secondary PGCE One year	Other (2 year BEd, 2 year PGCE)
1159	54	8	479	156	280	174	8
% of total	4.7%	0.7%	41.3%	13.5%	24.2%	15.0%	0.7%

In the aspects of preparation, shown in *Table 3.9*, Primary Articled Teacher NQTs were *more highly satisfied* with their ITE course/ preparation than four-year BEd/ BA(QTS) NQTs, who, in turn, were more satisfied than one-year PGCE 'trained' teachers.

Table 3.9 Aspects of Preparation for Teaching with which Articled Teachers were More Satisfied than were predominantly College 'Trained' NQTs

	Articled Teacher n=62	4 Year BEd/BA(QTS) n=479 n=156		1 Year PGCE n=280 n=174	
Percentage very satisfied or reasonably satisfied with their preparation	Primary and Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
Q7g. To assess the effectiveness of own teaching	68	51	69	41	53
Q7b. For classroom management	79	51	47	34	47

(Continued overleaf)

Table 3.9: Aspects of Preparation for Teaching with which Articled Teachers were More Satisfied than were predominantly College 'Trained' NQTs (Continued)

	Articled Teacher n=62	4 Year BEd/BA(QTS)		1 Year PGCE	
		n=479	n=156	n=280	n=174
Q7h. For team teaching	63	44	56	26	29
Q7p. For teaching reading (Primary only)	46	33	/	36	/
Q7A. To perform administrative duties	51	17	20	21	27
Q7s. For integrated/ interdisciplinary teaching (Primary only)	63	46	/	41	/
Q7B. To undertake pastoral duties	44	26	30	22	26
Q7C. For liaison with parents and others in the community	58	28	12	20	18
Q7I. To assess children across the National Curriculum assessments	57	41	35	35	45

Note: Figures in %

Table 3.10: Aspects of the Balance/ Emphasis within ITE courses with which Articled Teachers were More Satisfied than predominantly College 'Trained' NQTs.

Percentage considering that their ITE course contained <i>slightly too little or too little emphasis</i> on					
Q8n. Linking school-based work with college-based work	24	39	59	42	45
Q8e. Teaching practice	8	44	59	29	24

Note: Figures in %

However, in the areas shown in *Table 3.11*, Articled Teachers considered themselves *less prepared/ less satisfied* with their ITE courses than did college-based trained NQTs, and Articled Teachers felt less well prepared than college-based ITE NQTs. The table shows the percentage of each group feeling dissatisfied or very dissatisfied.

Table 3.11: Aspects of the Balance/Emphasis within ITE Courses with which Articled Teachers feel Worse Prepared/ Less Satisfied than predominantly College 'Trained' NQTs

	Articled Teacher (Primary + Secondary) n=62	4 Year Bed/BA(QTS)		1 Year PGCE	
		Primary n=479	Secondary n=156	Primary n=280	Secondary n=174
Q8f. Anti-racism	35	11	23	18	28
Q8g. Anti-sexism	26	10	20	15	26
Q8h. Egalitarianism	35	15	21	23	26

(Continued overleaf)

Table 3.11: Aspects of the Balance/Emphasis within ITE Courses with which Articled Teachers feel Worse Prepared/ Less Satisfied than predominantly College 'Trained' NQTs (Continued)

	Articled Teacher (Primary + Secondary) n=62	4 Year Bed/BA(QTS)		1 Year PGCE	
		Primary n=479	Secondary n=156	Primary n=280	Secondary n=174
Q8i. Critical Theory (critiquing the relationship between teachers, schools and society)	34	17	22	23	25
Q8t. Becoming a teacher who is a 'transformative intellectual' (wishing to transform children's view of society)	21	13	15	18	22
Q8u. The importance of theory	36	9	7	9	17

Note: Figures in %.

Not only did Articled Teachers feel less well prepared than college-based ITE NQTs on these six theoretical and contextual aspects of their teacher training/ education, they also felt *less well prepared* in the following five aspects of teaching, set out in *Table 3.12*.

Table 3.12: Aspects of the Preparation for Teaching with which Articled Teachers were Less satisfied than predominantly College 'Trained' NQTs

	Articled Teacher (Primary+ Secondary) n=62	4 Year BEd/BA(QTS)		1 Year PGCE	
		Primary n=479	Secondary n=156	Primary n=280	Secondary n=174
Percentage <i>very satisfied</i> or <i>reasonably satisfied</i> with their preparation to teach					
Q7i. More able children	29	31	51	26	34
Q7j. Less able children	37	45	62	34	34
Q7m. Children from different cultural backgrounds	22	43	34	27	23
Q7n. Socially deprived children	25	37	29	19	19

Note: Figures in %

Conclusion

These NQT and student teacher surveys were conducted partly in response to widespread teacher, NQT and student teacher objection to the government view – perceived by them to be patronizing – that they are likely to have been duped and indoctrinated by Left-wing and/or liberal progressive teacher educators. Many were (and remain) bewildered by the apparent Radical Right stranglehold on ITE policy (and indeed on education policy in general), and by the New Labour government substantially adopting Conservative Party policy on ITE, in its first forty months in office. My own research was carried out on behalf of newly qualified teachers in post and student teachers, but extends to concerns of the wider education community of teachers, Headteachers, teacher educators and Inspectors. It also forms part of the ongoing

attempt to dissuade the New Labour government from confirming the Radical Right Conservative reconstruction of Initial Teacher Education

The NQT and student teacher responses, and the other types of data presented in this chapter, indicate a substantial degree of support for courses *as constituted prior to the 1992 and 1993 CATE criteria, and as constituted prior to the New Labour National Curriculum for 'Teacher Training'*.

These responses also raise intrinsic concerns, yet indicate a need for modification rather than for the wholesale restructuring which the governments of both Conservative and Labour Parties have, to a large extent, agreed. Ironically, in view of the Conservative governments' hostility to undergraduate courses of ITE (rather than to PGCE courses), the NQT data in particular point to more dissatisfaction with PGCE courses, over a wide range of aspects of preparation, than with undergraduate courses.

Nonetheless, there is no cause for complacency with the status quo ante Circulars 9/ 92 and 14/ 93, nor the National Curriculum for 'Teacher Training'. Even within the limited terms of the questions asked of the NQTs (and student teachers), some improvements are clearly required. These surveys (and the 1993 OFSTED *New Teacher in School* Report) indicate the areas of the teacher education curriculum where NQTs (and also student teachers) consider that improvements are necessary. These include preparation for the teaching of reading, teaching the foundation subjects, assessing pupils' work and planning for differentiation (the last two being areas where experienced teachers also have difficulties).

These are recognized in Chapter Ten, where I suggest a curriculum and organization for Initial Teacher Education based on the Radical Left principles set out in Chapter Six and taking account of the data presented in this chapter about the strengths of the form and content of ITE, as they were developing under the CATE criteria of 1989.

This accounts for various moves in the late 1980s and early 1990s to increase the number of days spent in school beyond the requirements of CATE (DES, 1989), even prior to the CATE criteria of 9/92 and 14/93. These are reported by the Modes of Teacher Education Project report of 1992. (Barrett et al. 1992, Barton et al 1995).

However, the statistics from the various constituencies within the education community surveyed between 1989 and 1996 *do not* indicate dissatisfaction with HEI-based ITE. In general, the NQTs and student teachers surveyed between 1989 and 1996 found themselves satisfied with the various elements of their ITE courses and the balance between different course elements. This has clear implications for evaluating the New Labour acceptance of the Conservative settlement in Initial Teacher Education.

It can be concluded, then, that whilst there was some criticism of ITE courses operating under the CATE criteria of 1984 and 1989, there is no widespread dissatisfaction with theoretical aspects or aspects which deal with equal opportunities or with education components. On the contrary, the NQTs and student teachers surveyed in the studies presented here are generally well satisfied with these aspects of their courses. If anything, they show a desire for *more* courses dealing with equality issues rather than less.

From the available evidence, the Radical Right was, until the adoption of its restructuring of ITE by New Labour, virtually alone in its view that ITE was too theoretical, too liberal and/or egalitarian, that it should be divorced from higher education, and should develop teachers as 'restricted professionals', leaving 'extended professionalism' (Hoyle, 1975) reserved for later (in-service) development. The empirical evidence presented in this chapter indicates substantial and widespread opposition to these aspects of the policy of *both* Conservative and New Labour government policy on Initial Teacher Education.

The large scale NQT survey and the student teacher survey analysed in this chapter highlight not only the demand for BEd/BA(QTS) and PGCE courses to better develop certain of the technical skills of teaching, but also to better develop an understanding of equality and equal opportunities issues and their relevance to and importance for educational theory and practice. This necessitates space in the ITE curriculum for these issues to be discussed and developed – the space severely restricted under CATE criteria 9/92 and 14/93, and even further restricted under the New Labour 1997 National Curriculum for 'Teacher Training'.

Notes

1. The views of parents on changes in ITE have barely been researched. However, one example of parental opposition to the changes was the Exeter University survey of 250 Devon school governors, teachers and parents, 96% of whom were opposed to schools taking over responsibility for teacher education. Two thirds of the respondents to the project set up to examine the public view of government ITE reforms stated that student teachers need two or three months in college before they are ready to take charge of a class of children, even under supervision. The survey also found strong opposition to any plan to reduce the four-year BEd to three, largely because of the risk to standards. Half, however, supported an extension of the school-based element (of undergraduate ITE courses) to over one year, provided the overall course length was not cut. With respect to postgraduate ITE courses, two thirds of respondents opposed students spending more than half their PGCE course in schools. This was because there would then be too little time for main subject study, learning about education and discipline and how to teach a second subject. The respondents' view was that these areas could not be adequately covered in the 12 weeks intended by the Government (*THES*, 1992). It is not clear, though, how many of the 250 respondents to this survey were parents, and whether or not their responses differed markedly from those of other groups of respondents. This survey does, however, demonstrate nearly unanimous opposition to schools taking over responsibility for teacher education. A fuller version of this research (Hannan, 1995) is presented in the text of this chapter. The questions in this survey covered a range of educational issues (Hill, Cole and Williams, 1997).
2. Other aspects were: guiding and supervising students within the school, the provision of a range of student welfare support, improving students' subject knowledge relevant to the curriculum in primary schools, selection of students, developing the student's competence in curriculum content, planning and assessment, assessing students' professional competencies, assessing the quality of training, monitoring the quality of course provision, course design, setting objectives and devising programmes for students.
3. See Adams, 1992; Bennett, 1992; Bines, 1992; Elliott, 1992; Gilroy, 1992; Hodgkinson, 1992; Menter, 1992; see also the 'Letters' pages in the *Times Educational Supplement*, February-April 1992.
4. Criticisms of schemes such as the 'Mum's Army' scheme were also made in the (pre-New Labour) Labour Party policy documents (Labour Party, 1991, 1993, 1994) in the Report of the National Commission on Education (NCE, 1996) and in numerous articles and booklets (e.g. Hillcole Group, 1993b, 1997; Hill, 1991a, 1992a, b, c, 1993a, b, c; Hextall et al., 1991). The Institute for Education Policy Studies organized a conference at Kings College, London. Speakers were Sally Tomlinson, Stephen Ball and Michael Barber together with myself. The Conference was organized by the Institute for Education Policy Studies (which I founded in 1989) and by the Hillcole Group of Radical Left Educators (co-founded by Dave Hill and Mike Cole, also in 1989).
5. See Abbott et al, 1993; AMA, 1993; Barber, 1993a, b; CDTE, 1993; Hill, 1992a, 1994b; Hurst, 1993; Labour Party, 1993; MacLure, 1993; NAHT, 1993; NUT, 1993 a, b; PCET 1992, 1993; Pyke, 1993a, b, c; Santinelli, 1993; UCET, 1993; Young and Pyke, 1993. See also the 'Letters' pages of the *Times Educational Supplement*, June-July 1993).

and subsequent volumes such as those edited by Tomlinson (1994a) and by Tomlinson and Craft (1995).

6. Previous publications of this research data ((Hill, 1993a, b; Blake and Hill, 1995; Hill and Cole, 1997b) and Conference Papers (Hill, 1996a, b) have referred to smaller scale, earlier sets of responses.

Chapter Four

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION: LIBERAL PROGRESSIVISM AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

This Chapter begins an extended analysis of how three different types of 'reflection' in education relate to 'alternative' and 'oppositional' approaches.

I begin by establishing a comprehensive definition of the three types, or 'levels', of reflection to which I will be referring. I then relate a particular type of reflection to the 'alternative' approach to ITE proposed by liberal progressive and social democratic education policy.

In Chapter Five, I consider the type of reflection relating to another 'alternative' approach, that of New Labour. I class these as 'alternatives' to Conservative Government policy on Initial Teacher Education in that they engage in reforms I characterize as marginal. This is in contrast to the Radical Left, whose approaches I examine in Chapter Six and term 'oppositional'.

Part One: The Nebulous Nature of 'Reflection'

The concept of 'reflection' in Teacher Education is problematic.

The view that all practice is an expression of personal theory underpins the 'reflective practitioner/ teacher' model. (Griffiths and Tann, 1992:71) (1). However, without clarification and exemplars the term 'reflection' is meaningless (2). This meaninglessness enabled it, in the USA and in Britain in the 1980s to become 'the bandwagon of reflective teaching' (Zeichner and Liston, 1996:7). Reflection manifestly does *not* constitute a unified discourse. Giroux and McLaren declare that 'As a term it is useless, unless amplified to locate it within one of a number of competing discourses of teacher education.' (Giroux and McLaren, 1991:52). Thus, 'reflection' can be contrasted with 'critical reflection':

While hardly constituting a unified discourse, 'critical pedagogy' nevertheless has managed to pose an important counterlogic to the positivistic, ahistorical, depoliticized discourse that often informs modes of analysis employed by liberal and conservative critics of schooling, modes all too readily visible in most [USA] colleges of education. (idem).

This may be *relatively true* of critical pedagogy, but it is not true of 'reflection' in teacher education and in school teaching per se. The term 'reflection' or 'reflective teacher' imposes no logic or counterlogic to discourses current in the 1980s, nineties and at the turn of the millennium. Certainly, the change at WSIHE/ ChiHE from courses based on the 'reflective practitioner' model to school-based and competency-based models during the 1992-1993 period, appears to have been unproblematic for a number of staff.

The lack of consensus about the term 'reflection' is evident in Calderhead and Gates *Conceptualising Reflection in Teacher Education* (Calderhead and Gates, 1993; see also Gates, 1988) and in Zeichner and Liston's *Reflective Teaching; an Introduction* (Zeichner and Liston, 1996) and *Teacher Education and the Social Conditions of Schooling* (Liston and Zeichner, 1991). Liston and Zeichner, in these two books, give examples of varying definitions and types of reflection in their formulation and categorization of (United States) traditions of reflective practice.

Smyth places the issue of teacher reflection within the New Right dogma of 'free marketeering', in 'the rhetoric of autonomy and devolution' and 'in a context in which there has been a vicious attack on person rights and the social, political and economic infrastructure that has traditionally supported them'. He argues that 'attempts to

acknowledge "the wisdom of the practitioner" are occurring in contexts in which there have been 'substantial thrusts to centralisation', which in turn relates to the contemporary 'crisis of the State' and of late capitalism. In this context, 'particular' (though not all!) forms of reflective practice (are) far from being emancipatory or liberating for teachers'. (Smyth, 1991:2).

In Smyth's view, Schon has become 'a rallying point for ... liberal progressive educators' (ibid: 7) besieged by international conservatism. Yet, 'what appears to be a freeing up of control mechanisms by allowing schools, parents, local communities and teachers to engage in participative locally-based and reflective approaches', has to be set in the context of the policy of western capitalist governments world-wide to strategically withdraw from certain areas of education, while bolstering and fortifying their central policy-making powers. (ibid:11-12).

Notably, Smyth's analysis indicates here a distinction between reflection that is emancipatory or liberating for teachers, and that which is not. He also outlines a 'collaborative, reflective and critical mode', although not in explicit detail (3).

I now want to expand on the contrast between reflection that is conservative or liberal and not emancipatory or liberating for teachers, with critical reflection – a defining characteristic of teachers who attempt to be transformative intellectuals. To do so, I examine and exemplify the threefold typology of reflection in education set out by Zeichner and Liston (1987).

Part Two: Three Levels of Reflection in Education

I discuss these categories in relation to the particular example of 'race' education (although I could equally have chosen, for example, gender, social class, or sexuality).

Reflection Level One: Technical Reflection

Zeichner and Liston state that technical reflection (4) occurs

at the first level of technical rationality, the dominant concern is with the efficient and effective application of education knowledge for purposes of attaining ends which are accepted as given. At this level, neither the ends nor the institutional contexts of classroom, school, community, and society are treated as problematic (Zeichner and Liston, 1987:24, 1996:1-3; c.f. McIntyre, 1993:44; Adler, 1991:142; Hill, 1997b:193-194).

Technical reflection, 'race' and racial inequality

With regard to 'race'-education, the technical level of reflection is 'colour blind'. It ignores issues of racism, discrimination, prejudice, and stereotyped curriculum materials. It is essentially an assimilationist and individualistic approach. It is also a teacher-based approach. Where respondents (children) fail to give correct responses to assimilationist teacher stimuli, then those individuals or groups of children 'failing' to give anticipated or desired responses (in Attainment Targets or in behaviour relationships with the teacher) are deemed deviant. They are deemed to be in need of compensatory assistance or relocation to special units or schools. Therefore, within the parameters of this technical form of reflection, if the teacher is doing the job to technical perfection, and the pupil is not responding as desired by the teacher, then pupils can be justly marginalised, or even pathologised, as defective in terms of their home culture, child-rearing patterns, intelligence, home language 'correctness' or complexity. Such technical competencies form the basis of the competency approach to teacher 'training'. (5).

By definition, contextual institutional or societal factors – such as institutional and societal racism – are excluded from this technical level of reflection. However, it needs to be noted that from a deliberate assimilationist perspective, the multi-ethnic nature of Britain is not ignored. In the desire to make all children socially and culturally 'British' as defined by neo-Conservatives (see Chapter Two of this thesis), it is rejected.

Whether through ignorance or lack of awareness of the multi-ethnic nature of British society and schooling, or through deliberately seeking a monocultural policy response to multi-ethnicity, this technical reflection dominated many BEd and PGCE courses in the 1970s. For example, the education of 'Ethnic Minorities' was frequently placed into

'Special Needs' courses (6) with an approach centred on how to fit Black and Asian immigrant and immigrant-descended children into the already existing schooling.

Technical reflection is the single type of reflection that Radical Right policy has imposed on ITE in Conservative Governments, and which is being sustained to a considerable extent (as I shall argue in Chapter Five) by New Labour in government. For the Radical Right, achievement in schooling is a matter of individual merit, with 'Merit' (ability) being the sum of 'Intelligence plus Effort'. Technical reflection is socially de-contextualized and pre-determined, in that merit-worthiness and ability are already determined and defined by a dominating and dominant ideology – that of a meritocratic society and education system.

Technical reflection and theory

How do ITE students and teachers get to this type of reflection? What type of theory is necessary to develop technical reflection?

To develop technical reflection requires the trial-and-error practice and mimicry associated with apprenticeship, for which the Licensed Teacher system, SCITT, or pupil-teacher system would suffice. These three types of teacher education are more devoted to 'learning by doing', to copying, or trying out what the experienced teacher or mentor is doing. Hence, no theory would be required, at first sight. Like the apprentice butcher, the apprentice teacher could learn her or his cuts and strokes by copying the 'master butcher', and by 'having a go', getting better through practice. This is the 'tips for teachers' approach, the tips being primarily related to execution and presentation within a teacher dominated stimulus-response framework, with no development or understanding of the 'why?' of teaching, only the 'how to'. Desired outcomes are specified as precisely as possible via units of competencies, range statements and underpinning knowledge. (Wolf, 1994).

Consequently, as suggested above, this level of reflection is typical of, and ideologically congruent with, the level of reflection associated with the Radical Right and with various of its principles set out in Chapter Two. In particular, technical reflection is related to the societal ideological principal of '*Practical*' *Anti-theoretical bias and emphasis* (taken

from *Table 2.1*). With respect to Radical Right principles for teacher education, it is expressed particularly in the principles of giving 'Priority for Subject Knowledge and Practical Skills', 'Anti-Educational Theory in ITE' and 'Anti-HEI Involvement in ITE and Pro-setting up new routes/ a competitive market in ITE' (taken from *Table 2.2*).

Reflection Level Two: Situational or Contextual Reflection

At this level of reflection, theoretical and institutional assumptions behind aspects of education, such as curriculum and pedagogy, and the effects of teaching actions, goals and structures, are considered. For Zeichner and Liston, the

second level of reflectivity is based upon a conception of practical action whereby the problem is one of explicating and clarifying the assumptions and predispositions underlying practical affairs and assessing the educational consequences toward which an action leads. At this level, every action is seen as linked to particular value commitments, and the actor considers the work of competing educational ends. (Zeichner and Liston, 1987:24, c.f. Rosaen, Roth and Lanier, 1990; Adler, 1991:142; McIntyre, 1993:44; Hill, 1997d:194-196).

Situational or Contextual reflection, 'race' and racial inequality

With regard to 'race'-education, this second level of reflection enables students and teachers to depathologise subaltern (subordinate group), non-elite behaviour (dress, accent, vocabulary, syntax, clothes, body language, cultural and sub-cultural behaviour and artefacts, food, religion, family structures) and to become aware of, to accept and value ethnic and cultural diversity. Within the classroom 'situationally' or 'contextually' reflective teachers are aware of the danger of stereotyping, of under-expectation, of micro-level discrimination and prejudice (i.e. within small groups, within the classroom, and within the school). Such teachers are also aware of macro-level (societal level) prejudice and discrimination. Hence, their teaching would be non-racist rather than colour-blind. Their teaching would demonstrate awareness of, and welcome, the diversity of colour and culture and seek to represent this in a multicultural approach. Within the classroom and school, second level reflection challenges racist name-calling, negative images, and inter-ethnic group hostility. It can, however, exoticize and

patronize cultural diversity (Sarup, 1986; Hessari and Hill, 1989; Cole, 1992a, 1996, 1998b).

In order to engage in contextual/situational reflection, teachers and ITE students need such information as facts about the attainment levels of different ethnic groups, in order to recognize the problem of differentiated attainment.

Situational or Contextual Reflection and Theory

The theory required for the second level of reflection relates to the effects of teaching/schooling and cultural difference. This does not include the relationship of educational to societal stratification, to power structures and ideology. This situational or contextual level of reflection is typical of, and ideologically connected to, Centrist ideologies. All of the major political parties accepted the major recommendations of the Swann Report of 1985 that, *inter alia*, legitimated multicultural education. The CATE criteria of 1984 and 1989, in particular the 1984 Criteria introduced by a Conservative government, also legitimated multicultural elements in ITE courses. This is in marked contrast to the 1992 and 1993 CATE criteria, which (as noted in Chapter One) scarcely mention equal opportunities issues. The New Labour 1997 and 1998 TTA Criteria do give a *marginally* higher profile to these issues. This is developed in Chapter Five of this thesis.

Reflection Level Three: Critical Reflection

This level of reflection involves a consideration of the moral and ethical implications of pedagogy and of school.

Zeichner and Liston state:

At this level the central questions ask which education goals, experiences, and activities lead toward forms of life which are mediated by concerns for justice, equity, and concrete fulfilment, and whether current arrangements serve human needs and satisfy important human purposes. Here both the teaching (ends and means) and the surrounding contexts are viewed as problematic – that is, as value-

governed selections from a large universe of possibilities. (Zeichner and Liston, 1987: 23) (7).

In their 1996 *Reflective Teaching: an Introduction*, they situate critical reflection within the 'social reconstructionist tradition' of reflective teaching, where 'reflection is viewed as a political act that either contributes toward or hinders, the realization of a more just and humane society' (1996:59).

Adler notes that reflection at this level asks teachers to become, in Henry Giroux's (1988a) terms, 'transformative intellectuals', capable of 'examining the ways in which schooling generally, and one's own teaching specifically, contribute or fail to contribute to a just human society'. (Adler, 1991:142. See also Hill, 1997d: 196-197).

Critical reflection, 'race' and racial inequality

At the critical level of reflection, teachers transcend multiculturalism. Critically reflective teachers seek to enable their pupils to develop awareness, understanding and a commitment to opposing structural inequalities in society, such as discrimination based on 'race' (and also discrimination based on class, gender, sexuality and disability). Such teachers go beyond the cultural relativism and political pluralism characteristic of liberal democracy and of postmodernist analyses (a judgement elaborated in Chapters Seven and Nine of this thesis). They take a particular transformative and egalitarian political stance on egalitarianism. They recognize the need for political action, the deliberate exposure of racism and the development and promotion of anti-racism, within the formal curriculum as well as within the hidden curriculum. Such teachers deliberately engage, for example, in anti-racist history, anti-racist mathematics and in various circumstances, democratic participative pedagogy (8). (See Allman, 1999, 2000a, b; Cole, Hill and Rikowski, 1997; Cole and Hill, 1995, 1996a, b, 1999a; Cole, Hill, Rikowski and McLaren, 2001; Hill, 1993e; Hill and Cole, 1999b; Hill, McLaren, Cole and Rikowski, 1999, 2001; Ledwith, 1997; McLaren and Farahmandpur, 1999, 2000, 2001a, b; McLaren, Cole, Hill and Rikowski, 2001).

Critical reflection and theory

At this level, it is necessary for student teachers and teachers to understand (whether through formal education or not) macro-sociological theories of the role of schooling in a capitalist society. Teachers and students need to appraise critically such major analytical theories of power in society as structural-functionalist conservative 'meritocratic' theory, liberal-democratic pluralist analyses of power and the neutrality of state institutions, and Marxist analyses of the class nature of power in society and the role of schooling and teacher education in economic, social, cultural and political reproduction.

At this level of reflection, students and teachers become aware of and critique the three major sets of responses, ideologies and policies regarding 'race' – assimilationism/monoculturalism, cultural pluralism/multiculturalism, anti-racism – in terms of explaining and responding to the racialized structuring of opportunity and academic and job attainment. If multiculturalism is seen as an essential part of anti-racism and not as an end-goal, then both multiculturalist and anti-racist strategies are necessary as means to the anti-racist end. If, however, multiculturalism stops at celebrating ethnic diversity and does not see itself as a development of a metanarrative of anti-racist social egalitarianism and justice, then, I would argue, multiculturalism is conservative in failing to challenge the racist status quo (9).

I now turn to an examination of the extent to which critical reflection was apparent in ITE, in England and Wales, over the last thirty years (the period so far of my involvement in teacher education).

Part Three: Critical Reflection in ITE in England and Wales: The Case of 'Race'-Education

Critical Reflection in ITE

Much was written in the early and mid-1990s about the detheorizing of ITE in Britain and in the USA (10), though less so at the turn of the century. In Britain one salient

characteristic of it was the early/mid-1990s change in the declared aims and rationale for ITE courses, from a model of the teacher based on 'reflection' (commonly interpreted as situational/ contextual reflection rather than critical reflection) to one based on technical reflection. As noted in Chapters One and Two, this was clearly an intention and effect of the DFE guidelines for Primary and for Secondary Initial Teacher 'Training', the CATE criteria of 1992 and 1993 (DFE 1992a; 1993a), and of New Labour's Circular 4/98 (DfEE, 1998a).

The 'reflective' model, vacuous and non-specific though I have argued it is, was the norm in the early 1990s for undergraduate and for postgraduate ITE courses (Barrett et al., 1992; Wilkin, 1996; Furlong et al, 2000). Since then, competency-based ITE courses have since become far more widespread. ITE courses were re-written to conform to the requirements of CATE circulars 9/92 and 14/93 and DfEE Circular 4/98. These regulations and their 'competencies' (under New Labour, 'standards') have become universal – on pain of withdrawal of accreditation. (See Hustler and McIntyre, 1996; Whitty et al., 1997; Mahoney and Hextall, 2000; Furlong et al, 2000).

Many Radical Left teacher educators have recognized the 'conservatisation' and 'conforming' of teacher education by states in such countries as USA, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. In Michael Apple's words

There is immense pressure not only to re-define the manner in which education is carried out, but what education is actually for... [the conservative restoration] has altered our definition of what counts as good teaching and what counts as an appropriate education for our future teachers'. (1991:vii) (11) (Harris, 1994; McLaren, 2000; Mahoney and Hextall, 2000 make similar points).

Following the course criteria and development demanded by CATE in its circular 10/84 (DES, 1984), a number of BEd degree and PGCE courses in the mid-1980s became 'permeated' by issues such as anti-racism and anti-sexism (Whitty, 1991). For example, at West Sussex Institute of Higher Education each constituent course module/unit of the four-year BEd degree and the one-year PGCE were required to show the permeation. Indeed 'permeators' were appointed whose task it was to check the permeation of 'race', gender and special needs issues in the course content and bibliography of each module of the degree/certificate. This auditing of permeation applied also to the week-by-week

specified detail for each module, and to all curriculum and professional/ education studies modules. Whitty describes this process – the compulsory and essentially collaborative whole-team review and development of BEd and PGCE courses – as opening a space for the Left (Whitty, 1991). It certainly did at WSIHE and at other HEIs where I taught full-time, part-time or had an advisory capacity (such as the Polytechnic, now University, of North London).

The 1980s saw the *sporadic* development within ITE courses of attempts to develop egalitarianism and critical reflection and to transform student teacher understandings of the social, gendered and racial inequalities and injustices within curricula, pedagogies, and within the structures of schooling and society. This critical analysis in many cases underpinned a specific Radical Left commitment to struggle for a more socially just, caring, compassionate and egalitarian system of schooling and society. In other cases, probably many more, critical analysis underpinned a liberal-progressive and social democratic commitment to equal opportunities.

During the 1970s, also, some British ITE institutions (and indeed, schools) had developed what they intended to be egalitarian curricula, pedagogies, management style and relationships and anti-racist and anti-sexist policy and practice. (See Wilkin, 1996).

At individual institutions, modules and courses impacted upon a considerable number of students over a number of years. For example, on the two successive Primary and Secondary BEd degrees at West Sussex Institute of Higher Education of 1984-1989 and 1990-1995 there were lengthy compulsory courses on the social contexts of learning as, indeed, there were at Brighton Polytechnic and very many other HEIs (12). These courses comprised in part a series of guidelines on how to combat inequalities of social class, 'race' and gender at three levels – the national, Local Education Authority and school and classroom levels. In the 1984-1989 WSIHE BEd degree there was an 'Education and Society' thirty-hour core course (set out in the Appendix to Hill, 1989 and as *Appendix 11* to this thesis) with an extra thirty hours as an option specialising, *inter alia*, in 'race', gender or social class and education. As component leader on the WSIHE BEd degree of 1984-1989, I attempted to ensure that these courses were taught from an egalitarian perspective. All BEd students studied them, both Primary and Secondary. The Primary and Secondary BEd of 1990-1995 replaced these with a

compulsory 30-hour course 'Race, Gender and Classrooms', and a thirty-hour 'Education and Society' course which concerned issues of social class and education together with theories of the schooling-society-economy relationship. Similarly, all PGCE students on the Primary and Secondary PGCE courses 1984-1989 studied a 64-hour 'Contextual Studies' course, half of which was concerned with social class, 'race', gender and special needs in education (13).

However, courses developed in institutions such as the University of Brighton, Roehampton Institute of Higher Education and WSIHE (now ChiHE) under the 1992 and 1993 CATE criteria substantially exorcised such content. For example at ChiHE in both the Primary BA (QTS) and the Secondary BA (QTS) (whose first cohort was in 1993-1997), there were only four thirty-hour college-based modules on 'Education' in total. Issues of 'race', gender and social class were specifically addressed in 'education' courses for a total of only twelve hours in the four-year course. This was accompanied by whatever 'permeation' individual schools might encourage with student teachers on placement, and by whatever permeation might be developed within the 'Professional' or 'Curriculum' courses of a particular subject. Currently, the Secondary PGCE and four-year BA(QTS) courses at the University of Brighton and the Primary PGCE and three-year BA(QTS) courses at University College Northampton give separate consideration to 'race' and education for one-two hours during the whole course. Social Class issues are totally omitted from separate consideration in some courses. There may or may not be permeation during curriculum or other parts of these courses.

My own experiences in teacher education – in West Sussex until 1996, in Tower Hamlets 1996-97, and in Northampton 1997-2001, and as a guest lecturer at the University of Brighton and other HEIs – indicate a major difference in awareness, for example, of issues of class, 'race', and sexuality within schools and ITE institutions, and between students in Inner City areas, as compared with shire counties. This is hardly remarkable. The point here, however, is that while such issues can scarcely be avoided in some contexts, and are therefore likely to permeate school experience, in other contexts such permeation might not happen.

The effect on students of ITE courses with egalitarian ideological perspectives is open to debate (as shown in Chapter Eight). However, during the periods 1984-1989 and 1990-

95 *all* undergraduate and postgraduate student teachers at WSIHE did, to varying degrees, become aware of associated data, policy developments and issues. And indeed, they became aware of how to 'combat' such inequalities within their own classrooms and schools. Whether or not they became convinced of or skilled at doing so is, of course, another matter. This question of 'course effect' is discussed in Chapter Eight.

Anti-racism and ITE in England and Wales

I now examine critical reflection and egalitarianism in relation to ITE, sustaining the focus on 'race' education, in order to show the limited nature of the egalitarian advances.

In 1985, the Swann report suggested that very few institutions offered a core course on anti-racism, let alone any cross-curricular permeation (Swann, 1985). This report came before the effects of the CATE criteria of 1984 (DES, 1984), and the CNAA criteria for validating College and Polytechnic ITE courses (CNAA, 1984) (14), could be fully gauged. Yet Swann points to the lack of radicalism, or even the celebration of multicultural diversity, at that time. I would suggest that *prior to* those CATE and CNAA requirements of 1984, such small-scale anti-racism and multiculturalism as existed in ITE courses was the result of the efforts of individuals acting either individually or collaboratively, rather than coherent overall course planning, and made without national official legitimization by the CATE criteria.

Despite the implementation of the CATE and CNAA requirements of 1984, by 1989 the Commission for Racial Equality commented: 'What is apparent is that compared with schools, universities and polytechnics have been relatively untouched by the debate on racial equality in education and have not, on the whole, seen the need to develop specific policies in this area'. (CRE, 1989:5. See also Swann, 1985; Siraj-Blatchford, 1992, 1993; Clay and George, 1993).

Tomlinson (1989) recounts considerable and protracted efforts to introduce training for multiculturalism into teacher education courses. While Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984) called for student teachers to be prepared for 'diversity of ability, behaviour, social background and ethnic and cultural origins', the subsequent 'CATE Notes on Implementation' did not

deal directly with the issue. Like most of the demands on teacher education courses, these issues were, in general, incorporated not by specific treatment but by 'permeation'. The dangers and reality of permeation are clear – it has become a catchword, can lead to trivialisation, or as Gaine (1987) puts it 'things can become so well permeated that they disappear altogether'. (Cited in Reid, 1993:116). As for the 1989 CATE guidelines (DES, 1989a), George and Clay criticize the lack of specificity that allowed institutions to implement the criteria in ways that closely mirrored their own levels of consciousness, prevalent beliefs and levels of staff competence. In a limited survey of ten HEIs:

All ten had stated rationales in their courses that committed them to the study of issues relating to cultural diversity. Although, as with the EOC survey, they expressed recognition of the importance of studying 'race' and culture issues, there was considerable variation. The survey found that only two institutions out of the ten stated a clear *anti-racist* rationale. The rest expressed rationales that were clearly *multicultural/multiracial*, or part of general equal opportunities programme. The survey also found that less than a third of the course (8 out of 26) had a core input. Four courses offered an option model, whilst the rest relied on permeation. (Clay and George, 1993: 129-130- my italics).

In 1993 Siraj-Blatchford, writing after the implementation of the 1989 CATE criteria, noted:

Some ITE departments have core or optional courses on 'race' and gender while others may offer only token lectures. The implications of this are that newly qualified teachers are often as ignorant as their older colleagues on entry to the profession are, and children continue to receive a poor preparation for life in a culturally diverse community. What is worse is that groups of children continue to underachieve because of these practices. It is important to recognize that ITE is one spoke in a deterministic cycle that could be weakened considerably. (Siraj-Blatchford 1993:96).

With regard to school-based teaching practice, Crozier and Menter (1993) comment that,

Even on courses where there is a strong expression of commitment to equality issues, there is evidence that this very rarely leads to effective treatment of these concerns within the teaching practice triad. Research carried out at two institutions indicated a 'stasis' within these relationships. Potentially contentious issues, especially if they might challenge the professionalism of the teacher, were invariably avoided ... What has been most striking though, is how often there is a very direct contradiction between the espousal of liberal anti-sexist and anti-

racist positions by college staff and the lived experience of students and staff. (Crozier and Menter, 1993:100) (15).

In a discussion of the key criteria for secondary phase Initial Teacher Training (DFE, 1992a) both Reid and Adelman note that,

issues of social inequality are in the fifth rank of competencies and headed 'Further Professional Development'. The 'newly qualified should have acquired ... the necessary foundation to develop' (para. 2.6) 'an awareness of individual differences, including social, psychological, developmental and cultural dimensions (para. 2.6.4); mention is also made of special needs (para. 2.6.6, gifted pupils (para. 2.6.5) and 'an understanding of the school as an institution and its place within the community' (para. 2.6.1). There is not much obvious scope for dealing with social inequality. (Reid 1993:116; also Adelman 1993:104-5).

As for recruitment, Adelman notes that the 1990-91 statistics show that only 2.3% of acceptances to ITT courses were for minority ethnic candidates. He points out that in a substantial number of other undergraduate courses, minority ethnic acceptances reach 10%. (1993:101). Since then there has been little progress, a fact recognized by the MacPherson Report into the death of Stephen Lawrence (Macpherson, 1999) and the Runnymede Trust Report into the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain (Parekh, 2000), and by a series of reports commissioned by the Teacher Training Agency published in 1999-2000 (see Carrington et al., 2000; Demaine, 2000; Gillborn and Mirza, 2000) and other commentaries (e.g. Waller et al, 2001).

Part Four: Liberal Progressivism

In this part of the chapter, I now map out two contemporary, distinctively Centrist ideological positions. I focus firstly on liberal progressivism, or 'Plowdenism' as it is known, with reference to schooling and ITE in the British context, and secondly on social democracy, which I equate with a major section of what has been termed 'Old Labour'. (The other major section of 'Old Labour', discussed in Chapter Six, is the Socialist and Marxist Left). I also refer, briefly, to moderate or liberal Conservatism. These are analytical categories that in some cases correspond to recognizable political groupings, in others to theoretical traditions (such as liberal-progressive 'Plowdenism') not organized into political groupings. (See Chapters Five and Six for categories related

to New Labour and the Radical Left, respectively). There are overlaps between these two Centrist traditions – liberal-progressivism and social democracy – and policies that identify with each other and also with the moderate/ liberal Conservative 'one-nation' concept. The views of educationalists such as David Hargreaves and Mary Warnock, whose ideological positions and policy proposals are eclectic, are also briefly considered here.

Liberal Progressivism/ Plowdenism and Education

The characteristics of liberal-progressive ideology in education are indicated below.

Table 4.1: Liberal-Progressive Principles for Education

1. child-centredness, in terms of the individualistic and individualised nature of the curriculum;
2. 'readiness' (e.g. reading readiness);
3. the curriculum emphasis on interdisciplinary topic work;
4. organized in an 'integrated day';
5. a curriculum emphasis on 'relevance' (e.g. of the curriculum to working-class children in general and to Asian, black and other minority ethnic group children in general);
6. the teacher as a guide to educational experiences rather than a distributor of knowledge;
7. the non-authoritarian teacher as friend and guide;
8. 'discovery learning';
9. little competitive testing;
10. an emphasis on both individual work and also on group co-operation and group work rather than competitiveness;
11. some desire to develop a contextual (or situational) type of teacher reflection, an awareness of the influence of contextual factors on educational achievement;
12. a schooling system the aim of which is the flourishing of the individual.

Note: Table 4.1 adapted from Hill, 1999a:16, 2001d:15. See also Bennett, 1976; Silcock, 1999.

Prior to the ascendancy of the Radical Right, the dominant paradigm in Primary schooling and ITE in England and Wales was the liberal progressive one. Although its dominance at school level and in material practices of schoolteachers is often overstated (Bennett, 1976), it did become the dominant ideology in some sectors of ITE (Wilkin 1996, Furlong et al 2000) and in Primary schooling (Bennett, 1976; Thomas, 1990). Expressed in the philosophy of the Plowden Report (CACE, 1967), and championed by Labour Governments and accepted as mainstream thinking in other parliamentary parties, it claimed to be child-centred and concerned with educating the whole child, so that the affective domain was equal in importance to the cognitive one. It stressed the worth of all children and their right to be active in the learning process, rather than passively absorbing facts (Watson, 1980:2). It was concerned with the process of learning – with teaching children how to learn and how to find out. Accordingly, the Report opposed a rigid curriculum with subjects restricted to timetable slots, and instead organized the curriculum flexibly, assuming that children would integrate knowledge in their own minds through a project, or thematic approach. This owed much to Piagetian and Brunerian (16) psychology. In ITE, this educational ideology affected and informed most Primary, and significant sections of Secondary, ITE courses (cf. Maguire, 1993). Books by Ralph Dearden (1968) and by Margaret Sutherland became standard on ITE courses, as did the study of Piagetian psychology and its perceived emphasis on 'reading readiness' (see Sutherland, 1988; Thomas, 1990).

In 1976, Neville Bennett set out thirteen characteristics of 'Progressive Teachers' and contrasted them with 'Traditional Teachers' in tabular form, as follows:

Table 4.2: *Progressive Teachers and Traditional Teachers*

Progressive	Traditional
1. Integrated subject matter	Separate subject matter
2. Teacher as guide to educational experiences	Teacher as distributor of knowledge
3. Active pupil role	Passive pupil role
4. Pupil participation in curriculum planning	Pupils have no say in curriculum planning
5. Learning predominantly by discovery techniques	Accent on memory, practice and rote
6. External rewards and punishments not necessary	External rewards and punishments used
7. Not too concerned with conventional academic standards	Concerned with academic standards
8. Little testing	Regular testing
9. Accent on co-operation and group work	Accent on competition
10. Teaching not confined to classroom	Teaching largely confined to classroom
11. Emphasis on team teaching	Emphasis on individual teaching
12. Open plan layout	Closed classroom layout
13. Accent on creative expression	Little emphasis on creative expression

(Bennett, 1976:38. See also Thomas, 1990).

Liberal Progressivism in Teacher Education and 'The Reflective Practitioner'

After Schon's updating of Dewey's concept of reflection (Schon, 1983, 1987), the model of the 'reflective practitioner' achieved almost universal approbation in ITE in the 1980s, although as noted above it was a fairly meaningless and all-embracing term (Barrett et al., 1992; Furlong et al, 2000). Nonetheless, it commanded the rhetorical allegiance of

almost all ITE course documents in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It coincided and co-existed with progressive child-centred teacher education. Liberal progressivism and 'the reflective practitioner' model of the teacher were mutually supportive, and both were/are dedicated to the development of autonomous, rational-reflective individuals.

In relation to the Conservative Governments' restructuring of ITE, Plowdenite progressive teacher educators argued in the late 1980s and early 1990s that schooling and ITE were functioning well. Sometimes such opinions were borne out of genuine ideological support for 'Plowdenite' policies. At other times they simply aligned with the innately conservative resistance to changing from a known and comforting system of 'progressive' schooling and teacher education.

Discussions of ITE at the British Educational Research Association (BERA) Annual Conferences in 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993 and 1994 were dominated by support for the reflective practitioner model. During the 1995, 1996 and 1997 Conferences, however, there were increasing numbers of papers on competencies and on the implementation of more school-based teacher education (for example, on mentoring). In later years (1998-2000) the concept of reflection hardly figures at all. Although concerns with reflective practice and with school-based Initial Teacher Education and mentoring are not necessarily mutually exclusive (e.g. Whitty 1996; Hextall et al, 1991), an examination of the agendas/ lists of paper presentations for the BERA Annual Conferences throughout the 1990s shows that concern with the technicist aspects of school-basing and mentoring did replace and reduce concern with reflective practice.

Also, a significant number of groups and initiatives were set up by BERA, UCET (the Universities Council for the Education of Teachers) and by 'The Future of Teacher Training' Writing Group, co-ordinated by Jean Rudduck and David Bridges, whose published aims exemplify the liberal-progressive grouping. These are:

1. to define/advance a view of: teachers as intelligent, thinking practitioners; teaching as a form of practice which has constantly to be informed by sensitivity, intelligence and reflectiveness in practice.
2. to defend/advance the distinctive contribution which institutions of higher education have to make to the development of practice thus conceived (at the same time as valuing the distinctive contribution that

in school practitioners can make to that training in partnership with higher education).

3. to challenge and correct some of the mythology about current teacher training propagated by the 'raving right';

(i) that current training is entirely disassociated from practical experience in schools (they seem to have no idea of the amount of time that students spend in school-based work with or without tutors);

(ii) that practising teachers play no significant part in the section, training or assessment of student teachers (they of course play a very active part in most institutions);

(iii) that the curriculum of teacher training is largely determined by the ideological whims of teacher educators (they don't seem to have heard of CATE or the Secretary of State's requirements).

4. to disentangle some of the muddle about the relationship (or otherwise) between:

(i) the character and quality of initial training;

(ii) the recruitment and retention of teachers;

(iii) the mismatch between initial training qualifications and the posts held by large numbers of teachers.

5. to demonstrate our own capacity to think and work creatively:

(i) to improve the quality of initial training and develop constructive approaches to the continuing professional development of teachers;

(ii) to extend access to initial training programmes and contribute through effective programmes of professional development to the retention and career mobility of teachers;

(iii) to provide appropriate career change and retraining support for teachers;

(iv) to work in effective partnership with practising teachers.

(Rudduck and Bridges, 1990:npn).

The liberal Conservative centre and Initial Teacher Education

After more than four years of New Labour Government, in Autumn 2001, there is little apparent difference between liberal Conservatism (17) and New Labour. This analysis is developed in the next chapter. Paddy Ashdown's diaries (Ashdown, 2000, see also *Tribune*, 2000) reveal Blair's project for New Labour to shed its 'comrades' (Radical Left wing) and to merge with the Liberal Democrats and 'the Tory Left' in order to be attractive to the pro-European Lib/Lab coalition that he (Ashdown) planned with Blair. (*Tribune*, 2000. See also, White, 1996; White and Ward, 1999 for similar analysis). One symbol of fluidity in the centre-ground of British politics was the floor crossings in Parliament by liberal Conservatives to Labour prior to and since the 1987 General

Election (Alan Howarth in 1997, Peter Temple-Morris in 1998, Shaun Woodward in 1999). In the late 1980s and early to mid 1990s, the moderate (or liberal or Left wing or 'Heathite') wing of the Conservative party was clearly at odds with the Thatcher-Major Government policy generally, on education and ITE.

The specifically conservative subgroup supported elements of the Government attack on liberal-progressivism and egalitarianism in schooling and in ITE, but argued for the continuation of the links between ITE and higher education. During the Parliamentary debates (1993-94) over the setting up of the TTA, a number of moderate, liberal Conservative MPs argued for the retention of theory within ITE courses, and against John Patten's 'Mum's Army' proposal (described in Chapter One). This subgroup included MPs such as Malcolm Thornton, Chair of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Education in the last Major administration, and Demytri Coryton of the Conservative Education Association. They had little influence within the Conservative Party throughout the 1990s.

Some influential educationalists, such as David Hargreaves and Mary Warnock, accepted some of the Radical Right proposals (18). The effect of their interventions was to add a degree of legitimacy to some aspects of the restructuring of ITE. Since the implementation of the 1992 and 1993 CATE Criteria they have been joined by numerous teacher educators who have been involved in, or responsible for, courses that are now more school-based and more closely linked to the National Curriculum for schools. They see some benefits in the new-style undergraduate and postgraduate courses and, indeed, have a vested interest in making them work well.

Hargreaves and others saw something wrong with the state of teacher education, and welcomed the blowing away of the cobwebs, the opening up of these debates. In the late 1980s and early 1990s they accepted a combination of:

1. easier academic entry qualifications into ITE if tied to maturity and previous experience;
2. shortened courses on the lines of the two-year BEd for subjects in which there is a pronounced shortfall of teachers;

3. a reduction in the theoretical and contextual aspects of ITE, together with an increase in time for classroom competencies and skills;
4. school-based ITE, as in the Articled Teacher Scheme or in specially selected 'teaching schools' (as recommended by Hargreaves. See, for example, Hargreaves, 1989d).

These individuals are not an identifiable organized group, nor do they all accept all of the above elements of policy (indeed, some of these proposals are alternatives to each other). However, they seem to have accepted more school-basing, more skills/competency training, less critical theory and egalitarianism, shorter ITE courses and easier access into teacher education and teaching.

Radical Right policies on ITE were not only supported, in some aspects, by these renowned educators. Some college managements made the policies an opportunity to shake up existing practice and staffs. The dramatically increased levels of pay and power awarded to HEI senior managements, following the restructuring of Polytechnic and College Managements in 1991, had noticeably negative effects on the collegiality and degree of staff democracy of many institutions. Managers now more overtly manage, and this strengthened role is more legitimated – by law, as well as in current managerialistic discourse. This is the reconstruction and reconstitution of the teaching profession, the 'new managerialism' or New Public Managerialism discussed in Chapter One. (See also Whitty, 1997; Hatcher, 2000; Hill, 2000a; and, with respect to the role of the TTA in particular, Mahoney and Hextall, 1977, 2000).

Social democracy/ 'Old Labour' and education

Labour in government 1945-51, 1964-70 and 1974-76 (if not from 1976-79) pursued broadly social democratic policies in terms of the principles described below (20). While some Labour government policies may be described as socialist/ Radical Left – such as the wholesale nationalizations of 1945-49, and the local municipal and national enterprise boards of the 1970s – other policies, spurred, in part by international capital and its international banking agencies, acted as right-wing constraints on social democratic policy.

Ian Aitken depicts the difference between social democracy and socialism. He sees social democracy as a 'limited kind of egalitarianism ... to be delivered via the tax and benefit system', whereas socialists (the Radical Left) believe that because inequality springs from the private ownership of capital, extensive public ownership is required to correct it. (Aitken, 1997).

The main principles of social democracy are, according to Heffenan, full employment, the welfare state, redistributive taxation as a positive social good, and what he calls 'a mixed pseudo-Keynesian economy' (Heffenan, 1997). Gray adds, as a feature of social democracy, 'support for and co-operation with a strong Labour movement as the principal protectors of workers' interests' (Gray, 1996b). Hattersley highlights Tawney's 'rejection of the notion that private enterprise always produces efficiency', with social democracy being 'based on the need for a democratic government to act on behalf of the community as a whole in the face of insatiable demands from greedy vested interests'. (Hattersley, 2000).

The ideological orientation of the Labour party in its education policy, as in its wider policy, has historically been social democratic (19) (Benn and Chitty, 1997, Hillcole Group, 1997). It is difficult to accept Lawton's suggestion that

attempts by the Labour Party since 1945 to develop a comprehensive and coherent set of policies on education ... show that far from being dominated by ideology the Party has suffered from a lack of ideology. (1992:30).

The social democratic, centre-Left alternative approach to the Radical Right can be traced in *pre*-New Labour party policy on education in general, and in its basic ideological principles in respect to education and teacher education, as follows:

List of 'Old Labour' Principles for Education Policy

- redistributive policy
- extending provision and financing through the agency of the local and national state
- tradition of equal opportunities in the strong proactive sense of achieving more equal outcomes

(Continued overleaf)

List of 'Old Labour' Principles for Education Policy (Continued)

- relying on the professionalism (and qualifications) of professional groups
- regulation by government agencies of these professionals in the interests of equal opportunities.

These principles can be seen in the following aspects of 'Old Labour' education policy:

Table 4.3: Social Democracy and Education

1. comprehensive schooling;
2. expansion/extension of educational opportunities and provision to hitherto excluded or semi-excluded sections of the population (e.g. expansion of secondary education via the 1944 Education Act, expansion of higher education, the Open University);
3. local community involvement in schooling, further and higher education;
4. local community control over schooling further and higher education (through democratically elected and accountable LEAs);
5. a commitment to policies of equal opportunities;
6. a degree of positive discrimination and redistribution of resources within and between schools, such as via the 1970s Educational Priority Areas, via targeted spending/'plussages' by LEAs, and via Section 11 funding for minority ethnic groups;
7. a curriculum and education system which recognizes issues of social justice and which aims at producing a technically efficient, but fairer, capitalist society;
8. developing the teacher as authoritative but relatively democratic and anti-authoritarian;

(Continued overleaf)

Table 4.3: Social Democracy and Education (Continued)

9. a contextual (or situational) type of teacher reflection rather than either a 'technical' ('how to') reflection, or a moral/ethical social justice ('why') type of 'critical reflection'. (Hill 1994a, 1997b);
10. aims for education to include the flourishing of the collective economy and society as well as the flourishing of the individual.

Adapted from Hill, 1999a:15, 2001d:14.

The pre-Blair Labour Party 1994 policy statement on education, *Opening Doors to a Learning Society*, defines the key principles as *access for all* – 'education should be about opening doors and keeping them open as wide as possible. At the moment too much educational provision is concerned with excluding people and providing a prize for the few'. (Labour Party, 1994:4); *continuity* – 'Education is a lifelong process and it should not be terminated at arbitrary points. Individuals must be able to continue in, and return to, a flexible system of education over the course of their lives' (idem:5); *quality and equality* – 'there must be a fair distribution of resources, countering disadvantage not reinforcing privilege. Priority in education provision must be assessed according to need'. (idem:4); *accountability and partnership* – 'education services belong to the whole community' (not the Minister or unelected quangos), and 'central government should create the framework for education whilst the local delivery of services must be the responsibility of those who are democratically and professionally accountable'.(idem:5)

In the same policy statement (1994), the section on 'Schools make all the difference' states that 'schools must ... work to remove barriers to equal opportunities'. This means that schools must take on board 'issues of ethnicity and sex ... Local Authorities should draw up a statement of aims on multi-cultural education'. (idem:12). These are principles acceptable, in varying degrees, to both liberal-progressive and to Radical Left ideologies of education, although the Radical Left argues that such policies do not go far enough - they are 'equal opportunities' rather egalitarian policies.

On the school curriculum, the 1994 document rejects undue prescription and favours instead cross-curricular teaching - 'the curriculum should support the physical, social and intellectual development of the child through cross-curricular teaching and specific

subject teaching as appropriate'. (idem:15). There is also mention of 'critical' development:

the national curriculum should encourage critical understanding of the responsibilities of citizenship, of national and international relationships, of social, political, and economic arrangements ... while not becoming an instrument of indoctrination. It should not be prescribed by the Secretary of State ... it will apply to all schools, including those in the independent sector. (idem:15).

Social democracy/ 'Old Labour' and Initial Teacher Education (1991-1996)

The ('Old') Labour party's proposals for teacher education are set out in a series of discussion and policy documents (Labour Party 1991, 1993, 1994). They are finally represented by the 1996 draft consultation Paper drawn up by Colin Pickthall, MP (Pickthall, 1996). These can be regarded as classically social democratic documents. Other expressions of these ideological principles are evident in documents written by or for the Left-wing think tank, the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), (such as Tomlinson and Ross, 1991; Barber and Brighouse, 1992; IPPR, 1993), and in Sally Tomlinson's work (e.g. Tomlinson, 1994a, b; Tomlinson and Craft, 1995). With respect to ITE, *Opening Doors to a Learning Society* (1994) supported the role of theory, the role of higher education in ITE, and made a commitment to equal opportunities as part of a national core curriculum for teacher education (Labour Party, 1994).

This policy document for ITE promised to:

Table 4.4: 'Old' Labour/ Social Democratic Policy on Initial Teacher Education

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1. | keep teaching an all-graduate profession |
| 2. | keep a balance in ITE 'between classroom-based practical experience and a theoretical understanding of the processes of learning gained in higher education institutions'. (Labour Party 1994:16) |

(Continued overleaf)

Table 4.4: Old Labour/ Social Democratic Policy on Initial Teacher Education
(Continued)

3	sustain HEI's 'important role in the provision of Initial Teacher Education' because not to do so represents 'a dangerous threat to the quality of newly trained teachers, to the long term viability of higher education departments of education, and to the professional status of teaching'. (idem)
4	'abolish the Teacher Training Agency and restore the partnership of schools and higher education institutions' in the provision of ITE. (ibid:17)
5	set up a General Teaching Council to 'fulfil a genuinely independent role in the regulation of the teaching profession' regarding 'the professional development of teachers'. (idem)
6	'widen access to teaching without diminishing levels of qualification' (idem)
7	introduce a framework National Core Curriculum for Teacher Education after consultation with interested parties'. (idem).

The December 1995 Labour policy document, *Excellence for Everyone -Labour's Crusade to Raise Standards* was briefer on ITE. It proposed to establish a General Teaching Council (GTC) 'for regulating the teaching profession', to 'consult on the make-up and role of the GTC to ensure that its membership reflects both the community as a whole as well as the teaching profession', and to transfer various functions and resources of the TTA to the GTC. In stark contrast with Conservative actions, the document set out to explore the idea of raising entry requirements into teaching. Finally, in response to the widespread continuing concern about the role of theory and of higher education, Labour reiterated its 1994 policy by saying that ITE

must ensure a proper balance between theory and practice, and address the concerns about school-based training and ensure that there is a satisfactory partnership between higher education and school ...using effectively the expertise of all concerned. (Labour Party 1995:9-10).

In this document, for the first time, Labour was expressing 'concern about the lack of consistency in teacher education'. The document, and its presentation, achieved press

prominence (and a hostile Union response) because of its proposals 'to root out bad teaching'. (idem:10-11).

In 1996 MP Colin Pickthall, then a member of Labour's Education team, drew up a consultation paper. It presented, *inter alia*, much the same points as the 1994 and 1995 policy statements, while giving forceful recognition to the role of higher education, and to the role of theory in ITE. However, there were differences within the Labour education team over the level of prescription for a teacher education national curriculum. Pickthall, presumably in a sideswipe at the party leadership's comments in favour of whole class teaching methods, argues against 'Stalinist centralism', against prescribing content and specific teaching methods.

When Pickthall publicized his draft policy document on teacher education, in August 1996, it was greeted with some concern – and disclaimers – by David Blunkett's office. Pickthall was described as 'a backbencher', coverage of the draft was defined as 'substantially inaccurate' and it was emphasized that David Blunkett would be producing a policy statement in the Autumn of 1996, after the 1996 Labour Party Annual Conference. This was to include 'proposals for a Core Curriculum for Initial Teacher Training'. It did not refer to the Pickthall document – the last gasp of Old Labour about Teacher education. Shephard's (Conservative Party) proposals (DfEE, 1997e) were sent out for consultation and were amended only slightly by Blunkett (as detailed below). The revised proposals were implemented as Circular 10/97 (DfEE, 1997a).

Imaginative Projects

Another example of a social democratic approach to teacher education is the *Imaginative Projects: Arguments for a New Teacher Education* booklet, published in January 1991 and written by Ian Hextall, Martin Lawn, Ian Menter, Susan Sidgwick and Steven Walker (Hextall et al, 1991) (21).

In some ways, this booklet derives from the politics of the lowest common denominator in opposing Radical Right attacks on teacher education. In others, it suggests 'reformist' principles, such as moves to moderate radical views in the hope of gathering wider support and building wider alliances. The same tendency can be seen in other attacks on

the Radical Left (such as Demaine, 1993, 1995), and calls for all progressives to unite behind Tony Blair and Labour policies.

The 'Imaginative Projects' writers provide incisive criticism of the Radical Right's attack on teacher education. However, they offer only a limited critique. In thirty-five of the booklet pages, Hextall et al avoid explicit development of the 'critical arena' of reflection, the area of socio-political reflection. In the whole booklet there is only one sentence on 'critical reflection on practice' (about 'assumptions about the nature and purpose of education forming the basis of teacher education'). In their definition, to reflect critically is to

see education as a process of empowering people with the understanding and competencies which increases effective participation in our society, and enables people to define and realise their identity, think critically about the world, and to change it (Hextall et al., 1991:23).

While the sentiments in the above quote may well have been a principle informing the writers' own individual practice and perspectives, it is difficult to see how it informed their collective booklet in any explicit way. The highly important principle – one of active, critical, reflective agency – remains undeveloped, left without salience or profile, in their booklet.

The Hillcole Group's Whose Teachers?

Similar critical comments can be made about the Hillcole booklet on teacher education, *Whose Teachers: A Radical Manifesto* (Hillcole Group, 1993b). Written by John Clay, Mike Cole, Imelda Gardiner, Rosalyn George, Meg Maguire and myself, the booklet is deliberately set out in the style and format of Hillgate Group publications.

Its proposals were that:

1. Parents, teachers and teacher educators must resist narrow, restrictive competency and skills-based teacher training and insist on and develop critical, reflective teachers and pupils
2. Teachers need more than subject knowledge and classroom skills. They need to reflect on why or why not certain actions should be taken or avoided. They need to be aware of individual and group similarities and needs.

3. Teachers need to be educated in *both* schools and colleges.
4. Teaching should remain an all-graduate profession with a multiplicity of routes, including part-time ones (Hillcole Group, 1993b:15).

The booklet was justifiably criticized by Demaine as 'disappointing ... one of its effects is to draw attention to the fact that there appear to be no policies for teacher education that deserve the label 'radical Left' (Demaine, 1993:25). Demaine also suggests that my own 1991 publications, (Hill, 1991a, b) are 'neither radical nor particularly left'. (Demaine, 1993:25; 1995:183-185). (22).

While such initiatives as *Imaginative Projects* and *Whose Teachers* are welcome for those reasons implicit in political 'reformism' or 'revisionism', they have failed to go much beyond a defence of and rationale for the *status quo ante* 1992/1993. They neglect overt and explicit issues of social justice and equality.

Notes

1. In this, Griffiths and Tann follow Carr, 1986; Carr and Kemmis, 1986; Schon, 1983, 1987 and Elliott, 1987, 1989.
2. This point is also discussed by Adler, 1991; Smyth, 1991; Calderhead and Gates, 1993; Giroux and McLaren, 1991; Griffiths and Tann, 1992; McIntyre, 1993; Tabachnik and Zeichner, 1991b.
3. Smyth goes on to explore the dimensions of 'a more socially, culturally, and politically reflective approach to teaching and to teacher education? (ibid: 2-3). He suggests that teachers need 'a preparedness to reflect upon one's own history and how it is embedded in current practice, to speculate about the likely causes of relationships, but also to follow through into action whatever informed decisions to change are deemed desirable'. (Smyth, 1986:79). He proceeds to set out a number of questions that reflective teachers (teachers engaging in a critical form of clinical supervision) should ask themselves:
 - * how do our professional histories, individually and collectively, affect the way we teach?
 - * what are the taken for granted assumptions in our teaching?
 - * where do these theories come from?
 - * how do the ways we choose to teach lock us into certain kinds of relationships with our students?
 - * in what ways does the structure of schooling determine our pedagogy, and how might we begin to change those structures?
 - * what are the unintended outcomes of our teaching?
 - * how can we create 'new' forms of knowledge about teaching through discourse with our colleagues? (Smyth, 1986:79-80).Although Smyth advances these as part of 'a collaborative, reflective and critical mode of clinical supervision' (ibid: 59), these questions are equally appropriate for the contextual and the critical modes of reflection that are described and exemplified below. However, in order for them to be utilized in a socially just critically transformative manner, i.e. at level three of reflection, then such a critical metanarrative needs to be explicit. Hence I include Smyth's questions as exemplars of level two, contextual/ situational, rather than level three, critical emancipatory reflection, in my subsequent discussion.
4. Pat Ainley has pointed out, in his comments on this chapter, that some forms of technical proficiency do not necessarily involve any reflection at all, for example riding a bike or swimming. Some reflection, for example, when typing, can actually inhibit task accomplishment.
5. In some respects, similar pathologizing and hierarchical differentiation in terms of superiority/inferiority can, of course, be applied to social class and to gender.
6. This was the case, for example, at West Sussex Institute of Higher Education in the BEd and PGCE courses of the late 1970s. Maguire (1993) and Reid and Parker (1995) also describe the various phases in the historical development of the curriculum of ITE courses. At a broader level, so do Wilkin, 1996; Furlong et al, 2000, and, from a Radical Right perspective, Partington, 1999.
7. A number of other writers have discussed Zeichner and Liston's various levels of reflection. The following, for example, give similar definitions of critical reflection: Adler 1991:142; McIntyre 1993:44; Tabachnik and Zeichner 1991a; McIntyre 1993:44.

8. The question of pedagogy is problematic for the Radical Left. Together with Mike Cole and Claudette Williams, I attempt to present a Left critique of progressive pedagogy (Hill, Cole and Williams, 1997) drawing on Sarup (1983), Jones (1989) and Brehony (1992).
9. This is the view of a number of anti-racists, but it is hotly disputed. Cole (1992a, b) for example suggests that multiculturalism is inevitably conservative and patronizing. He criticizes multiculturalism, new multiculturalism (associated with Mal Leicester) and the reconstructed multiculturalism of Short and Carrington (1996).
10. For Britain see, for example, Whitty and Menter, 1989; Hill, 1989; 1990a; 1991a; 1994a, c, 1997a; Gilroy, 1992; Wragg, 1992; Barber, 1993; Whitty, 1993; Hill and Cole, 1997b; Hill, Cole and Williams, 1997. For the USA, see Apple, 1979; 1982; 1989; 1993; Giroux, 1983a; 1988a, b; Giroux and McLaren, 1989; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1986; 1991. For Canada, see McLaren, 1989.
11. cf. Apple, 1979; 1982; 1986; 1993.
12. Some British egalitarian/critical ITE courses are referred to or described in Clay, Cole and Hill, 1990a; Cole, Clay, and Hill, 1990; Cole, 1990; Troyna and Sykes, 1989. Troyna and Sykes describe the BA and QTS (Qualified Teacher Status) at Warwick University as based on biographical life histories 'in the conviction that personal experiences and understanding provide an ideal basis from which to begin to explore why we, and others hold particular beliefs and values and why we, and they, do things in certain ways'. The PGCE course at Sheffield University attempts an innovative approach to the formation of the reflective, critical, teacher and is described in Rudduck and Wellington, 1989. The 'Schools and Society' unit of the BEd course at West Sussex Institute of Higher Education in 1988-89, and the optional 20-hour Year One and Two BEd units 'Contexts for Learning' at Brighton Polytechnic in 1989-1990, are set out in *my Charge of the Right Brigade: The Radical Right's Attack on Teacher Education* (Hill, 1989). See also Gaine (1995) for another account of developments at WSIHE. Zeichner and Liston (1987) describe the curricular plan for the student teaching programme at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, instituted in 1979, designed 'to stimulate reflection about teaching and its contexts at all three levels'. They set out the aims of elementary student teaching in relation to a view of knowledge, a view of the role of the teacher, the form, epistemology and scope of the curriculum, teacher-student social and authority relationships. These criteria clearly develop the third level of arena of reflection, the 'moral and ethical' where
 - (i) knowledge and situations are viewed as problematic, socially constructed and value-governed selections, rather than certain;
 - (ii) the institutional form and social contexts of teacher and schooling are problematic rather than unproblematic;
 - (iii) the teacher is viewed as a moral craftsperson as opposed to a technical craftsperson;
 - (iv) the form of the curriculum as reflexive as opposed to received, i.e. the curriculum is not non-negotiable with student teachers being relatively passive recipients of predetermined knowledge. There is (some) space for the self-determined needs and concerns of student teachers as well as the creation of personal meaning by students;
 - (v) the epistemology as practical as well as theoretical knowledge;
 - (vi) student-teacher authority relationships are inquiry-oriented not hierarchical.
 (Zeichner and Liston, 1987. See, e.g. p.40).
13. I was the Course co-ordinator of these core compulsory sociology/politics of education units through the mid-1980s.
14. In the 1980s, CATE and the CNAA stated in their documents that teachers needed to be prepared to differentiate their teaching to accommodate the diverse school population. Specific mention was made of the needs of ethnic minority pupils and for gender

equality. The DES stated that student teachers should 'guard against preconceptions based on the race or sex of pupils' (DES, 1984: 11), and 'on completion of their course ... should be ... able to incorporate in their teaching cross-curricular dimensions [e.g. equal opportunities]'. (DES, 1989a: 10).

15. Blair and Maylor (1993) make similar comments, as does Menter (1989).

16. Watson highlights the influence of Piaget and Bruner on Progressive education thus:

Piaget argued that mental development passes through distinct stages -sensory motor (birth -c. 2 years); pre-operational (c. 2-7 years old); and formal operational -i.e. capable of abstract thought -from 11/12 onwards. These stages are not discrete and there is a degree of overlap, but they do follow in a definite order. (Piaget, 1952) According to Piaget 'Life is a continuous creation of complex forms and a progressive adaptation of these forms to the environment' (idem: 3). It therefore follows that children perceive the world very differently from adults; that the learning/ teaching process should take this into account; that because each child develops at his (sic) own speed learning should be individualised; and that at primary level especially children should be allowed to explore their environment. Such views have been reinforced by Bruner, who believes that a child's natural curiosity should be the major motivating factor in learning and that by becoming a 'participant' rather than 'spectator' a child is likely to remember and learn more effectively. (Watson, 1980:7).

17. While they participated, apparently enthusiastically, as leading Ministers during the Thatcherite revolution, Michael Heseltine and Kenneth Clarke attacked the rightward drift of William Hague's policies on behalf of a more inclusive, one nation, liberal Conservatism in December 1999. Indeed, so did John Major. Heseltine and Clarke have been co-opted by Blair into his pro-European policies in the late 1990s/2000, but this is unlikely in the extreme to signal disagreement with the Thatcher (and, indeed, Major) neo-liberal and conservative revolutions in education. But then, as will be seen in Chapter Five, New Labour is scarcely dissenting from those revolutions either. The 'more liberal conservative' individuals to whom I am referring here are those who opposed main aspects of the Thatcher-Major revolutions in education, such as Demytri Coryton and Sir Malcolm Thornton and, indeed, Sir Edward Heath.

18. David Hargreaves' views have been set out in a series of articles in the *Times Educational Supplement* (Hargreaves, 1989a, b, c, d, e, 1990, 1991, 1992; and in Beardon, Booth, Hargreaves, and Reiss, 1992). Mary Warnock's views are set out in Warnock, 1985, 1988.

19. The extent to which the Labour party after the Michael Foot election defeat in 1983 was centre-Left between 1983 and 1995 is problematic. It involves questioning whether the party leadership or membership defines its political ideology, what the ideology of the membership is in any case and whether a historical dimension is relevant to a judgement of a party's current ideological position. Compared with the Labour party manifesto for the 1945, or indeed the 1983 General Election, the Labour party under Neil Kinnock and John Smith clearly moved substantially rightwards, laying far less stress on redistribution of wealth and power and on collective ownership to achieve this. It was clearly similar to a number of Western European social democratic parties of the 1980s and 1990s, such as the French Parti Socialiste, the Spanish Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol, the German Sozial Demokratische Partei and the Portuguese Partido Socialista. (See Hill, 1983a, b, c, for comparisons between the British, Portuguese and other Western European social democratic and Labour parties).

20. I was peripherally involved in this at meetings and by correspondence with Pickthall.

21. Geoff Whitty, Colin Lacey and I were also involved at an early stage of this group but were not invited to participate in its later stages. I suspect this is because of an

apparent divergence of the project of the group that eventually published the booklet, from the more radical contributions of those who were not involved throughout. Their booklet can be described as more moderate. This does not necessarily describe their personal politics or political activism.

22. Although I was one of the contributors to this booklet, I perceive with Demaine the lack of radicalism (Hill, 1993e), which is in sharp contrast with other Hillcole writing on teacher education. (Hillcole Group, 1991, 1997).

Chapter Five

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION: NEW LABOUR

To continue the assessment of alternative approaches to ITE and their relation to types of 'reflection', I now address the policy and ideology of New Labour on Initial Teacher Education. I examine these both prior to and since the May 1997 general election victory, and set them within the context of the overall New Labour educational ideology. Ultimately, I assess whether or not the policies of the particular – teacher education – state apparatus are congruent with, and recognizably a part of, the broader educational state apparatuses.

Part One: New Labour and Initial Teacher Education Policy, prior to the 1997 General Election and since taking Office

New Labour and ITE Policy prior to the 1997 General Election

David Blunkett signalled substantial agreement with the direction of Conservative government changes in ITE through his reaction to the Conservative proposals of September 1996, which defined a highly prescriptive National Curriculum for Teacher Training. He criticized the delay in implementing it (King, 1996), commenting that 'they have taken 17 years to come up with proposals on what is taught in teacher training colleges. Most people will be amazed that there is not already a core curriculum' (Barber, 1996).

Four months earlier, Blunkett had argued:

Teachers must be taught more about how to manage a class, including how to teach a whole class. Teaching the basics from the start must be the overriding goal ... We need to review the amount of time that trainee teachers spend on acquiring these core skills. (idem).

The message given by Blair and Blunkett prior to the election was that

the Labour Party intends to launch a back to basics drive in the classroom if it wins the next election. More emphasis on basic skills, classroom discipline and whole class teaching will become part of a drastic overhaul of teacher training. The plan has been sparked by the party's dissatisfaction with the quality of newly qualified teachers. (TES, 1996a).

Both Blair and Blunkett set the tone of the New Labour new official policy in various *ex cathedra* statements on education, during the run-up to the 1997 general election. *The Guardian* stated that with *New Labour, New Life for Britain*, the 1996 general policy document, 'Blair lays ghost of old Labour' (*The Guardian*, 1996). The document announced that New Labour favours fundamental reform of teaching training, with emphasis on teaching strategies and pupil discipline. Blair's pre-election speeches suggested that the Teacher Training Agency should ensure that trainee teachers understand the balance of advantage and disadvantage of mixed-ability teaching and the alternative approaches. This came in the context of his claim that in government we will start from a general presumption in favour of grouping according to ability or attainment unless a school can demonstrate that it can meet the heavy demands of a mixed-ability approach.

Although replicating some aspects of (Radical Right) Conservative Policy, a number of long standing (Old Labour) policy proposals still remained. Thus Barber, then a key education adviser to the Labour leadership, could state that unlike the Conservatives,

Blunkett ... has consistently emphasised his commitment to partnership between schools and higher education. Labour would presumably aim to develop a national curriculum for teacher education which inspires both sides of the partnership (Barber, 1996).

This is, in rhetorical terms, a clear departure from Conservative hostility to the role of higher education in 'teacher training'. Barber also quoted Blair's 1995 speech at the

London University Institute of Education which stressed that 'partnership should extend to the research community so that we can root education policy in research fact, not political prejudice' (idem). Again, as noted in Chapter Three, New Labour was to have a tempestuous relationship with the education research community, initiating and proclaiming the results of a number of reports that were highly critical of educational research such as the Tooley Report (Tooley, 1998) and the Hillage Report (DfEE/Institute of Employment Studies, 1998).

Michael Barber's The Learning Game (1996) and Initial Teacher Education

Michael Barber's book *The Learning Game* (Barber 1996) is concerned with improving the quality of the teaching profession. Most of his suggestions are concerned with 'an agenda for reconstruction of the teaching profession which would enable teaching to become a learning profession fit for a learning society' (ibid: 219). This agenda includes (i) the continuing professional development of teachers, and including relevant research as part of the creation of 'a learning profession' (ibid: 234–5) (ii) teachers undergoing a five-yearly appraisal and re-certification process (his 'MOT' for teachers, ibid.: 231–3) (iii) the creation of a higher salaried grade of 'Expert' (classroom-based) 'Teachers' (ibid.: 227), and (iv) proposals for a 'permeable profession', which encompasses increased use of a wide variety of 'para-professionals' such as teaching assistants, and teacher associates (also promoted in Barber and Brighouse, 1992) under the guidance and control of qualified teachers. Teacher associates would include, inter alia, 'third-age and early third-age' people (ibid.: 233) (e.g. retirement age and redundant/delayed/early retired). Teaching assistants, teaching associates and other, non-teaching staff might, he suggests, make up 50% of the staff of a school by the end of the century (ibid: 232).

As a new route into teaching, Barber proposed a three-year, school-HEI partnership, salaried postgraduate route into teaching. His proposals for broadening entry to the profession are what I would describe as an extension of the Articled Teacher Scheme, with the advantage over that scheme that such student teachers would be salaried, as opposed to bursaried. It is worth quoting Barber at length on this proposal, since he has been such a significant influence on the education policy of the New Labour Party.

He states:

I would like to see a complete rethink of entry into the teaching profession that would be simultaneously looser about course design and content, but tighter about outcome.

Modules in education and in teaching and learning (what German universities call *Pedagogic*) should be available to the vast majority of undergraduates... whether or not they were sure they wanted to become teachers.... in a three year undergraduate degree in, say, English literature, a student might do two education related modules out of a total of eighteen ... students who have successfully completed their degree including the (education) credits, and want a career in teaching, should join a three year entry programme or apprenticeship ... This would involve a combination of practical experience in more than one educational institution and the completion of a range of courses in educational and learning theory. The precise order in which those were undertaken could be left – within a broad framework – for the individual apprentice and the institution which employed them to decide. At the end of the three years, the performance of the apprentice would be assessed in three different ways: there would be a report from a mentor in the institution where the apprentice worked; there would be a report from an independent assessor (for example a teacher from another school who had been trained for the role), who had watched the apprentice teach; and there would be both an extended dissertation and a written examination, which focused on educational and learning theory and was set by the university with which the apprentice was registered.

These proposals would have numerous advantages over the present arrangements. They would provide rigour and strengthen quality control. They would link theory and practice integrally from the outset. They would enable mature students to earn a living during their training (Barber, 1996: 226–7).

There are only seven paragraphs on 'Becoming a Teacher'. It is implied, but not clear, nor essential, that this route might replace the current three-and four-year undergraduate ITE courses. There are also no comments on what should be the content of either the undergraduate credits, the apprenticeship courses in educational and learning theory, or (if any were to remain) of BEd/BA(QTS)/ BA(Ed) courses. It is not clear, with his concern for 'diversity', whether there would be an equivalent of the CATE or TTA criteria, and, if so, what they would entail. His comment about looser course design and content, yet tighter about outcome, does not give much of a clue. On issues of equality, on issues of changing the highly conservative and assessed competency-based outcomes of the national Curriculum for ITE, Barber's book is silent.

What is missing is the detail of such a route (for example, its balance between school and Higher education experience, the content of the ITE curriculum, whether or not it would totally replace existing four-year undergraduate ITE courses). Furthermore, the key principle underlying his policy proposals appears to be a weak version of equality with diversity.

New Labour in Government and Policy on Initial Teacher Education

New Labour and two new employment-based routes into teaching

The two new schemes for attracting over-24s are the Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP) and the Registered Teacher Programme (RTP) (TTA, 1997e). These retain the same features as proposals by the Conservative government in October 1996 and March 1997, except in two respects. Firstly, 'that trainees should be at least 24 years old unless they are already fully-qualified to teach in another country', and secondly 'that those who are not already graduates should study for a degree while they train' (TTA, 1997e). This reaffirms the New Labour but non-Conservative belief that teaching should be an all-graduate profession.

The GTP, which the New Labour Government introduced in January 1998, requires between one term and one year of school-based training. The RTP is intended to enable non-graduates, who have successfully completed the equivalent of at least two years' full time higher education, to take a course lasting between one and two years in order to gain both a degree and Qualified Teacher Status. It replaces the Licensed Teacher Scheme, introduced in 1988 by the Conservative Government, and the Overseas Trained Teacher Scheme, introduced in 1994. Unlike the LT scheme, the RTP scheme would require its graduates to be just that, graduates on completion of their courses. 'On the RTP, candidates will also be studying for a degree and will not be awarded QTS until they have successfully completed their studies' (TTA, 1997e:3) (as assessed by the degree awarding institution).

In a departure from Conservative Party policy, this consultation document on the GTP and RTP stresses that 'the same standards are required for the award of QTS whether

trainees follow an employment-based route or any other course of Initial Teacher training (ITT)' (TTA, 1997e:1).

These New Labour proposals have a number of characteristics.

Firstly, in a move which perpetuates the exclusion of higher education from a part of ITE, the 'Recommending Body' (RB) for organizing and running the scheme can, as with the Conservative Government's SCITT schemes, be a school or consortium of schools with no HE input in terms of course design, validation or monitoring. The consultation document also specifically suggested that 'organizations interested in the scheme may include not only accredited providers, other HEIs and LEAs but also educational employment agencies, charitable institutions and other educational bodies' (idem:2).

Secondly, the requirement that overseas trained teachers have either a recognized degree in Education, or a degree plus a teacher training year, leaves a problem that may be discriminatory, indeed structurally racist, for applicants such as supply teachers without QTS, bilingual teaching assistants and ancillary workers. The problem is that the British Council assessment of course equivalence (idem: para 30) may be unjust and out of date. Rather than apply this one-off assessment of qualification and suitability, such applicants could more advisedly be assessed against the standards proposed for the ITE standards – in the same way that Non-Standard Entry applicants for undergraduate ITE courses have their suitability assessed via a portfolio of work and experiences. In my own experiences as a BEd and PGCE course admissions tutor, I have frequently felt the injustice of not recognizing apparently satisfactory sets of qualifications and teaching experience. For example, a number of teachers from Kenya or Pakistan have their qualifications and experience automatically regarded as A-level equivalent. Such applicants have been rejected for the PGCE course and have been required to study for a three-or four-year undergraduate ITE course.

Thirdly, the GTP/RTP regulations are permissive when suggesting that trainees 'may profitably experience teaching in at least one other school' (than their training school) (idem:4, para 22–23). This does not recognize that student teachers need to benefit from a variety of school ethos and approaches in order to evaluate the effectiveness of their own and others' teaching, and of schools' practices. These same points were made in

relation to the Licensed Teachers Scheme, and (to an extent) the Articled Teachers Scheme (Hill, 1989, 1990a, 1991a).

The GTP scheme (like the LT, AT and SCITT schemes) minimizes the opportunity for developing HEI-based critical reflection. Although New Labour's *Standards for the Award of Qualified Teacher Status* applies to the GTP and RTP routes into teaching, there is a greater possibility with school-based routes that the critical, comparative and theoretical aspects of Initial Teacher Education will be denigrated, denied or simply omitted (1).

The National Curriculum for Teacher Training: New Labour and the Criteria of 1997 and 1998 (Circulars 10/97 and 4/98)

With respect to the National Curriculum for Teacher Training, New Labour retained most of the Conservative proposals, but made a number of significant changes. These are in the areas of the overall nature of teaching ability; the recognition of cultural diversity and underachievement; and the recognition of the variety of ways of teaching reading — that it is not just phonics (2) (although this is where the overwhelming emphasis still lies).

I will now comment on the New Labour July 1997 National Curriculum for what it terms 'Initial Teacher Training', in the same order in which I commented, in Chapter One, on the Conservative Government proposals of February 1997.

The New Labour Government criteria and standards for ITE are contained in four documents: *Training Curriculum and Standards for New Teachers: a Consultation Summary* (TTA, 1997f), *Standards for the Award of Qualified Teacher Status* (TTA, 1997g) and its accompanying documents, *Initial Teacher Training National Curriculum for Primary English* (TTA, 1997h) and *Initial Teacher Training National Curriculum for Primary Mathematics* (TTA, 1997k). These subsequently became Circular 4/98 *Teaching: High Status, High Standards - Requirements for Courses of Initial Teacher Training* (DfEE, 1998a).

Differences and Similarities between New Labour's Circulars 10/97 and 4/98 and the Conservative Circulars 9/92 and 10/93

Unlike the Conservative document, *Consultation on Standards for the Award of Qualified Teacher Status*, the New Labour version *does*:

1. *confirm degree status for all teachers;*
2. *emphasize that teaching is an intellectually and managerially challenging profession.* A (marginally) less mechanistic view of teaching is presented than in the Conservative proposals, and New Labour avoids the implication in the Conservative document that discrete assessment of each competency standard would be required. In the New Labour document:

Professionalism ... implies more than meeting a series of discrete standards. It is necessary to consider the standards as a whole to appreciate the creativity, commitment, energy and enthusiasm which teaching demands, and the intellectual and managerial skills required of the effective professional. While trainees must be assessed against all the standards during their ITT course, there is no intention to impose a methodology on providers for the assessment of trainees against the standards (TTA, 1997f: 2)

3. *elaborate equal opportunities issues.* The Conservative document included the three requirements that student teachers have a working knowledge and understanding of 'anti-discrimination legislation' (Da iii); set 'high expectations for all pupils notwithstanding individual differences, including gender, and cultural and linguistic backgrounds' (B2 k xiii); and be 'familiar with the Code of Practice on the identification and assessment of special educational needs' and associated matters (B2 l).

New Labour's Circular 4/98 goes further. As well as extending the first of the standards above, and keeping the latter two (as the same numbered standards B2 k xiii, B2 l), it *adds* to the Conservative proposals by requiring student teachers to be able to identify 'pupils who are not yet fluent in English'. The word *yet* is an addition to the Conservative formulation, and is a recognition of the needs of children/school students whose English is emergent (Standard 2AV) and a recognition of their fluency in another language.

Standard D a ii requires, *inter alia*, that student teachers 'have a working knowledge and understanding of teachers legal liabilities and responsibilities relating to ... anti-discrimination legislation', but specifies the Race Relations Act 1976, and the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 (3).

Moreover, student teachers are required to be 'committed to ensuring that every pupil is given the opportunity to achieve their potential and meet the high expectations set for them' (Standard B3 D d), and to recognize 'that learning takes place inside and outside the school context' (Standard B3 D g). These two standards, unlike those of the Conservatives, require and create potential spaces for the inclusion within the ITE curriculum of the sociological and political contexts of schooling.

4. recognize the necessity for student teachers to know about child development, child and adolescent psychology, and social psychology. The Conservatives had required teachers to be able to plan and to exploit opportunities to contribute to pupils' personal, spiritual; moral, social and cultural development Standards 2d, 2k).

New Labour has retained these (in renumbered form as standards B2 d and B2 k 12 respectively) but added a further requirement (Secondary standard A1 xi and Primary standard A2 c) that 'those to be awarded Qualified Teacher Status' must demonstrate during assessment that they 'Understand how pupils' learning ... is affected by their physical, intellectual, emotional and social development'. Another addition is the extended reference to pastoral responsibility and 'bullying', although it omits any mention of equality or equal opportunities here, which would have given far greater legitimacy to these issues (4).

In contrast with the Conservative document, New Labour does,

5. not emphasize just phonics. Whereas the Conservative version of the *Initial Teacher Training National Curriculum for Primary English* placed an almost exclusive emphasis on phonics as a strategy for teaching reading, other than at word level, the New Labour document modified it:

The emphasis on phonics as the fundamental basis for learning to read at word level has been retained. Additional material has been added, however, to stress the importance of using syntactic and contextual strategies at sentence and text level (TTA, 1997f: 9).

The Conservative document virtually ignored contextual and syntactical strategies for teaching reading at sentence and at text level, despite the non-phonetic character of the English language. In contrast, the New Labour document stipulates that 'Trainees must be taught the importance of building pupils' skills in English from word level, to sentence level, to text level', and – an important addition here – 'as well as from the text “down” i.e. starting with the text and analysing its component parts at sentence level and word level' (TTA, 1997h: B5 b)

In making these changes from the Conservative proposals of 1997, New Labour policy legitimates and validates – indeed, requires – a more multicultural and contextually aware ITE curriculum. Yet there remains, in New Labour policy, very little recognition of the needs and advantages of Home Languages which are not standard English, such as Haringey Black English, or Whitechapel Bengali, or Stockwell Portuguese. In standards A1 (the numbering of these standards are the same in Conservative and New Labour documents), the use of non-standard English, and of Home Language, is alluded to but not spelt out. These require 'course trainees' to be 'taught the importance of ensuring' the progress of pupils from

- A1 a their implicit knowledge of how language works, to understand it explicitly so they can evaluate how they and others read and write;
- A1 b using predominantly informal and personal forms of language in both writing and talking, to being able to select and use formal and impersonal forms
- A1 c a limited awareness of audience, to writing and speech which shows adaptation to different audiences;
- A1 d their use of non-conventional writing, to the use of conventional letter formation, spelling and grammar;
- A1 e reading, writing and speaking where fluency is dependent on adult intervention, to independent control of a variety of forms of language.

Circular 4/98, in its discussion of the needs of EAL children (children with English as an Additional Language), places sole emphasis on the acquisition of Standard English. Although in metalinguistic terms it can be very useful to have a detailed knowledge and

use of more than one language, both Conservative and New Labour documents fail to encourage bilingual (or, as I discovered in my teaching in Tower Hamlets, trilingual or quadrilingual) pupils to continue to use their home and other languages. This is despite the social and cognitive advantages of so doing. Furthermore, neither the Conservative nor the New Labour document refers to the advantages of pupils' exposure to the mother tongue. If children have little command of English, then it is, patently, through their mother tongue that they develop cognitively. If they have little command of English, then sole exposure to English at school will not adequately facilitate the child's cognitive development (5).

New Labour policy, in both the *Standards for the Award of Qualified Teacher Status* and the *Initial Teacher Training Curriculum for Primary English* (TTA, 1997g, h), ignores the needs and the strengths of children/school students with English as an Additional Language (despite the revisions to the sections concerning pupils not yet fluent in English). Although the use of the mother tongue and other language is not forbidden, the Standards still miss the opportunity to gain the contribution of minority ethnic group experience – of parents, working class parents, grandparents or other relatives – which would also acknowledge the value of non-standard, or minority ethnic subcultures. This is not to deny that Radical Left and other teachers will interpret the above permissively and progressively, and continue to use the pedagogies mentioned here).

There is no requirement set out for student teachers concerning First Language Acquisition (FLA), Second Language Acquisition (SLA), or bilingualism, other than with the one exception. This is in connection with the Initial Teacher Training for Primary English section on 'Effective Teaching and Assessment Methods, subsection 1 ('how to make effective provision for those pupils not yet fluent in English'), where 1 iv (in *Circular 10/97* [DfEE, 1997a; 22] repeated in *Circular 4/98* [TTA, 1998 :41]) continues this sentence by stating 'including through ... carefully planned involvement of bilingual and other support staff and use of additional resources such as visual aids, talking books and dual language materials'.

However, teachers and student teachers need to know the theories underlying these methodologies and to be able to evaluate them in terms of their usefulness and effects.

Student teachers need to be able to do more than 'identify pupils who are not yet fluent in English'; they need to know how to help/ teach, and where to get help, in order to give targeted and positive support.

The Conservative and the New Labour policy documents (of 1997/1998) are, however, overall, remarkably similar. To take one final, and telling, example, both Conservative and New Labour standards include the requirement that student teachers demonstrate the ability to,

Use teaching methods which sustain the momentum of pupils' work and keep all pupils engaged through:
i stimulating intellectual curiosity, communicating enthusiasm for the subject being taught, fostering pupils' enthusiasm and maintaining pupils' motivation (TTA, 1997g: 7)

There is nothing here about extending from intellectual curiosity into critical reflection, the ability to intellectually discriminate, evaluate, and critique. I have already referred to the single and isolated mention of 'critical' understanding in the whole of *Standards for the Award of Qualified Teacher Status*. But while Standard B2 requires student teachers to 'evaluate their own teaching critically and use this to improve their effectiveness' (TTA, 1997g: 10), it does not include the validation requirements for theoretical issues.

This lack of critical reflection applies as a whole to the substantial adoption by New Labour of the Radical Right creation, the new National Curriculum for 'Teacher Training'. It is highly symbolic that New Labour is now continuing the Conservative tradition of dispensing with the term 'teacher education' and replacing it by 'teacher training'. (The Labour 1994 policy document *Opening Doors to a Learning Society* was still using the term 'teacher education and training').

New Labour Proposals on Teacher Training of July 2001

The New Labour proposals for ITE of July 2001 (*Standards for the Award of Qualified Teacher Status*) (TTA, 2001b) retain, in essence, the same standards for student teachers to achieve as in Circular 4/98. And the classroom and national education system and pressures remain the virtually the same context in which student teachers and teachers have to teach, a context referred to below, in particular with respect to an ideological

analysis of New Labour and Teacher Education. Not only do the pressures of classroom and the test-driven requirements of a competitive and hierarchical national education system remain similar, but the New Labour proposals of July 2001 substantially reduce the amount of college/HEI-based time in which to develop any of the (worthwhile) contextual and theoretical understandings discussed below.

However, New Labour's proposals do highlight, rather more than their New Labour (and certainly more than their Conservative) predecessors, issues of equal opportunities, diversity and of bilingualism within the Standards as a whole. As will be noted in Chapters Nine and Ten, they thereby enable more spaces to be created in ITE, and thereby potentially in schools, for egalitarian and critical intervention.

The detailed *Handbook to accompany the Standards for the Award of Qualified Teacher Status and Requirements for the Provision of Initial Teacher Training* (TTA, 2001c) represents increased concern with equal opportunities issues, and more concern with teacher reflectiveness, in comparison with the preceding New Labour and Conservative sets of regulations and criteria for awarding QTS. Considerable space is given in the *Handbook* to deconstructing and advising on these issues. The document is also more expansive on the linguistic needs of EAL children, and, to an extent, different in tone from its predecessors, both Conservative and New Labour. It talks of 'preferred learning styles' (TTA, 2001c:79),

Under section 1 'Professional Values and Practice', of the nine standards under that section the first two are that 'Those awarded Qualified Teacher Status must understand and uphold the professional code of the General teaching Council by demonstrating that they:

1.1 *have high expectations of all pupils, value and respect their diverse cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds, and are committed to raising their educational achievement* (TTA, 2001b: 8)

Among the examples given in the *Handbook* are that those to be awarded QTS:

- ensure that their judgements about learners strengths, weaknesses, progress and attainment are based on sound evidence
- understand that some groups may, for social or historical reasons, be at particular risk of disaffection or underachievement, and *show*

commitment to seeking effective strategies to engage them in learning and raise their attainment

- recognize and challenge discrimination, prejudice and stereotyping in any form (TTA, 2001c:6).

1.2 treat pupils with respect, consistency and consideration, showing awareness of their backgrounds, experience and interests, and having concern for their development as learners more broadly. (TTA, 2001b:8)

Under Section 2, 'Knowledge and Understanding', there appears the requirement to:

2.5 know and understand the 'Three principles for Inclusion' set out under the general teaching requirements of the National Curriculum handbook; (TTA, 2001b:10)

Under Section 3, 'Teaching Strategies', there appear the requirement to:

3.4.2 establish an ethos with the classes or groups they teach which values diversity, acknowledges pupils' strengths and promotes success; (TTA, 2001b:14).

The example in the *Handbook* here is that those to be awarded QTS:

- Actively promote equal opportunity, understanding how inequality can operate in the school and in the classroom, and how successful teachers and schools counter this;
 - Set high expectations for all pupils, not withstanding individual differences, including gender and cultural and linguistic backgrounds;
 - Create a classroom environment which reflects the cultural and linguistic diversity of the class and of society and prepares pupils for living in a diverse and increasingly interdependent society through
 - Wall displays which reflect cultural diversity not only globally, but within British society
 - Presenting positive images of the achievements of all groups, including, for example, children and adults with disabilities
- (TTA, 2001c:110)

3.4.9 work collaboratively with specialist teachers and other colleagues and, with the help of a more experienced teacher where necessary, manage the work of teaching assistants or other adults to enhance learning opportunities for all pupils; (TTA, 2001b:14).

Among the examples in the *Handbook*, are that those to be awarded QTS:

- Draw on pupils' knowledge and experience of language, including their home languages in their teaching;
- Organize differentiated activities where necessary to support the curriculum learning of pupils at different stages of learning English as an additional language, providing challenge as well as English language support;
- Provide learners with opportunities to work with a variety of other pupils in a range of different groupings and pairs, ensuring that learners with English as an additional language are not inappropriately placed in groups for low attaining pupils,

3.4.9 work collaboratively with specialist teachers and other colleagues and, with the help of an experienced teacher where necessary, manage the work of teaching assistants or other adults to enhance learning opportunities for all pupils.

Among the examples in the Handbook, are that those to be awarded QTS:

- Can organize and deploy additional adult support for pupils with special educational needs or for pupils learning English as an additional language in ways which promote independence, protect pupils' self-esteem and increase the pupils' inclusion within the peer group
- Can organize and deploy bilingual adult support for bilingual pupils in ways which promote the learning objectives set for pupils, enhance pupils' learning across the curriculum; help raise the status of languages other than English in the classroom; and support the maintenance and development of the pupils' other language as a language of learning (TTA, 2001c: 123).

3.4.10 recognize and respond effectively to equal opportunities issues as they arise in the classroom, including challenging all types of stereotyped views, bullying and harassment, following relevant policies and procedures. (TTA, 2001b:14).

The guidance for this Standard is very detailed.

Comparing Old Labour and New Labour policies on ITE

To extend the assessment of New Labour policy on ITE, I now compare New Labour policy on ITE with the 'Old Labour' policy document, *Opening Doors to a Learning Society*, of July 1994. This, it may be recalled from Chapter Four, promised to:

List of Labour Party Policy Promises, July 1994

1. *Keep teaching as an all-graduate profession.* New Labour has done this, but is also inserting tens of thousands of sub-degree level teaching assistants into classrooms, undertaking duties formerly carried out by teachers. Far more teaching is now being carried out by people who are not trained teachers.
2. *Keep a balance in ITE 'between classroom based practical experience and a theoretical understanding of the processes of learning gained in higher education institutions'* (Labour Party 1994:16); New Labour has not altered the balance instituted by the Conservatives in their criteria of 1992/93. While the Standards of 2001 (far more so than those of 1997/98) detail in greater depth the requirements, for example regarding equal opportunities, the time currently available within the ITE curriculum and the stasis within many schools serve to inhibit (though not to prohibit) such theoretical development as was enabled under the Criteria preceding those of 1992/1993. As noted above, though, student teachers, under the 2001 proposals, will spend ever less time in HEIs becoming aware of, and critiquing and developing, theoretical understandings.
3. *Keep the 'important role in the provision of Initial Teacher Education' played by HEIs* because not to do so represents 'a dangerous threat to the quality of newly trained teachers, to the long term viability of higher education departments of education, and to the professional status of teaching' (idem); New Labour has insisted on the role of higher education in 'training' teachers, but not for SCITT schemes, and not particularly for the other school-based routes into teaching that it is encouraging. Furthermore, the restraints on the critical theoretical aspects of ITE have been maintained.
4. *'abolish the Teacher Training Agency and restore the partnership of schools and higher education institutions' in the provision of ITE* (ibid:17); New Labour has not done this.
5. *Set up a General Teaching Council* which 'will fulfil a genuinely independent role in the regulation of the teaching profession' and 'the professional development of teachers' (idem); New Labour has set up a GTC. Its independence remains a matter of conjecture, though a sizeable proportion of its membership is directly elected (by teachers).

(Continued overleaf)

List of Labour Party Policy Promises, July 1994 (Continued)

- 6 *'widen access to teaching without diminishing levels of qualification'* (idem);
New Labour is broadening access into HE generally, but with sub-degree level assistants (see point 1 above). Furthermore, the abolition of student grants (for most students) and the imposition of course fees (for most students) are serving to discourage working-class students from applying for undergraduate courses.
- 7 *Introduce a framework National Core Curriculum for Teacher Education after consultation with interested parties'* (idem). New Labour has done this though with some criticism as to its content, including that made above.

Constraints on teacher education within the school teaching context

While there are differences between the Conservative proposals of 1997 and New Labour's National Curriculum for Teacher Training (both that of 1997/98 and the proposals of 2001), it needs to be stressed that there is little space/ time within the ITE curriculum to include additional demands, such as those relating to the MacPherson Report (1999) and relating to the increased concern with equal opportunities evident in the New Labour proposals of 2001 (TTA, 2001b, c), other than by permeation through curriculum studies. Drawbacks of permeation were highlighted in Chapter Four. While there has been a noticeable upgrading of concern for equal opportunities, diversity and the needs, for example, of bilingual children/pupils within the Proposed ITE curriculum of 2001, it is problematic as to whether this will result in the re-establishment of time on the curriculum for these purposes.

The ITE curriculum must also be placed within the wider school context. To take the example of bilingual and EAL children, proposals concerning linguistic diversity sit uncomfortably with the National Literacy Strategy, and the pressure therein to achieve improved test results by 2002. The repeated references in the 2001 proposals and *Handbook* to 'age-related expectations' (e.g. TTA, 2001c:74, 79) could advisedly make greater reference to the situation of the emergent English speaker, such as the newly-arrived Iraqi or Angolan refugee child. The injunction on new teachers to 'plan, teach and assess coherent daily English lessons and sequencing of lessons which ensure progression, *recognizing* cultural and linguistic diversity and range of ability' (TTA, 2001c:74, my emphasis) could go further than 'recognizing' – it could 'welcome and

affirm', noting the strengths of bi/tri-lingualism, and it could also include a section on 'enabling children to develop in their own language(s)' (see Robertson, 2000, 2001).

Teachers may well recognize the need for children to use language for different purposes and in a variety of contexts, but that is not 'SATed'. The pressure from headteachers on class teachers is to achieve the targets set by the head for each class; the pressure on headteachers is to achieve the SATs results set by the LEA, and the pressure overall is to reach the targets set by government for language and literacy and publicized in Green and White Papers and election material, such as the national targets in the pre-May 2001 general election *Schools Building Success of 2001* and *Schools Achieving Success of September 2001*, discussed below.

This brief discussion of the context of New Labour policy on ITE sets the scene for an ideological analysis of those policies.

Part Two: New Labour, Initial Teacher Education and Ideology

In terms of ideological characteristics, New Labour policies on Initial Teacher Education can be placed into five main categories, ranging from Social Democratic to Radical Right. (Some policies could fit into more than one category).

Social democratic policies for Initial Teacher Education

None of the New Labour policies on ITE aligns with the social democratic tradition of redistributive policy, of extending provision and financing through the agency of the local and national state. However, *some* accord with social democratic traditions of: pursuing equal opportunities (in the strong sense of being on the road to more equal outcomes), of relying on rather than denigrating the professionalism and qualifications of professional groups, and regulation through government agencies by these professionals in the interests of equal opportunities.

Table 5.1: New Labour's social democratic teacher education policies

- insistence that all ITE routes (such as the Graduate Teacher Programme and SCITT programmes) leading to QTS are of graduate status
- recognition of teaching as a profession rather than a trade, a recognition of the overall nature of teaching ability
- associated recognition that teaching is an intellectually demanding profession
- greater recognition of cultural diversity, underachievement, and inequality (for example through recognition that knowledge of anti-discrimination legislation and anti-discriminatory policy within the classroom is necessary) and some of the needs of bilingual/emergent English speakers, and the promotion of equal opportunities;
- recognition of contextual factors in learning, that learning takes place outside the school context, and is affected by pupils' physical, intellectual, emotional and social development and their backgrounds
- the re-insertion into the ITE curriculum (in the proposals of 2001) of contextual/situational reflection.
- some recognition of the holistic nature of learning to read, that 'it is not just phonics' (even if it remains overwhelmingly so), and of contextual and syntactical strategies for teaching reading

Continuation of Conservative Government technicist policies for Teacher Education

The marketisation of routes into teaching and the privatisation/involvement of private companies in SCITT schemes are clearly neo-liberal. The focus on 'the basics' of literacy and numeracy in the ITE curriculum, and the excision of critical reflection are equally clearly neo-conservative. However, it is not clear at all whether policies such as centralized government control over curricula, and a regime of assessment, are *essentially* Thatcherite. I would contend that New Labour adoption/continuation of these policies on ITE is not *necessarily* neo-liberal or neo-conservative, even though these policies were originally introduced by Conservative governments.

A functionalist Marxist perspective sees these developments, widespread across the Western capitalist world, as geared towards economic competitiveness in a neo-liberal world economy, and therefore neo-liberal (see Apple, 1989, 1993, 1996a; Hill, 1990a, 2001a, b, 2002a; Hatcher and Hirtt, 1999; Rikowski, 1999, 2001a, c, d). Blair and Schroeder (1999) are quite clear that education and training policy – on life-long learning, improved standards in literacy and numeracy – are components of the macro-policy criterion 'an active government ... has a key role to play in economic development' (ibid: 8). However, I am not sure how productive it is to depict as neo-liberal, *en bloc*, all those policies aiming at technical efficiency. Hence, I have distinguished those policies that have a clear neo-liberal, neo-conservative, and/or Thatcherite ideological provenance from those policies intended to measure or control the throughput of those policies.

Table 5.2: Continuation of Conservative technicist policies for Teacher Education (policies not identifiably/particularly neo-liberal, neo-conservative or Thatcherite)

- intensification of a regime of testing and assessment for student teachers (for example by the introduction of new pre-entry requirements in English and Numeracy)
- tightening TTA control of the 'standards' to be attained by ITE students by increasing the prescription of those standards
- policies to expand information technology and techno-ideology within ITE.

Table 5.3: Continuation/acceptance of ideologically Neo-liberal, Neo-conservative or Thatcherite policies for Teacher Education

- the neo-conservative, utilitarian national curriculum in ITE with increased focus on 'the basics' in the school curriculum and preparing student teachers for teaching, particularly Language and Numeracy
- the neo-conservative, utilitarian national curriculum in Initial Teacher Education which prepares student teachers to uncritically 'deliver' the existing school national curriculum
- emphasis within the ITE curriculum on classroom management skills and technical reflection as opposed to critical reflection

Table 5.3: Continuation/acceptance of ideologically Neo-liberal, Neo-conservative or Thatcherite policies for Teacher Education (Continued)

- emphasis within the ITE curriculum on managerialist solutions to problems in schooling, as opposed to solutions targeted at schools' financial, pupil intake, and curriculum solutions and policies
- acceptance that student teachers may need only two school-based experiences, thereby limiting students' comparative critical appreciation of school ethos and procedures
- a neo-liberal acceptance of private sector involvement (and possible lead role) in ITE SCITT programmes
- the lack of higher education partnership and involvement with schools in ITE SCITT programmes
- 'naming and shaming' and closures of 'failing' teacher training courses
- insistence that overseas trained teachers meet British Council assessments of qualifications equivalence, instead of being assessed by an APEL portfolio of work and experiences
- restricted financing of Initial Teacher Education
- overall (if not universal) denigration of the education research community, and an insistence on its focusing on applied technicist research

New Labour extension of ideologically Neo-liberal, Neo-conservative or Thatcherite Policy Ideology on Teacher Education

Finally, there are a number of policies and major areas of policy where New Labour actually goes beyond Conservative policy. If a Conservative government had been re-elected in May 1997, it would probably have pursued its neo-liberal and neo-conservative policies, for example in the direction of more privatisation and more 'back to basics'. Instead, New Labour is carrying out such extensions to ideologically neo-liberal, neo-conservative or Thatcherite policies, as in the following examples:

Table 5.4: New Labour extension of ideologically Neo-liberal, Neo-conservative or Thatcherite policies for Teacher Education

- *de facto* emphasis on school-basing and consequent de-intellectualization and de-theorization of ITE
- the attack on mixed-ability teaching;
- increasing para-educational, lower-paid and trained teaching assistants in the classroom
- introducing fees for undergraduate courses, in addition to student loans

In order to ascertain the New Labour ideological position on ITE, it is instructive to refer to the fifteen policy principles of the Radical Right *specifically on ITE* set out in Chapter Two, *Table 2.2*. When the New Labour positions are charted alongside, the degree of congruence between New Labour and the Radical Right is clearly indentifiable. It is also possible to compare New Labour with social democratic, liberal-progressive and Radical Left positions. In situating New Labour in *Table 5.5*, as with *Tables 5.1-5.4* above, I have considered not only the indications and requirements of various New Labour speeches and policies, but also what New Labour is silent on and thereby presumably accepts from the Radical Right restructuring of ITE.

Table 5.5: Fifteen Radical Right Policy Positions in Initial Teacher Education: New Labour ideological positioning in comparison to other ideological perspectives

	RADICAL RIGHT	NEW LABOUR	SOCIAL DEMOC- RATIC	LIBERAL PROGR- ESSIVE	RADICAL LEFT
(i). Pro-Emphasis on Practical Classroom and Discipline Skills	√√	√√	√	XX	O
(ii). Anti-Progressivism/ Child-centredness	√√	√√	X	XX	√?X?

(Continued overleaf)

Table 5.5: Fifteen Radical Right Policy Positions in Initial Teacher Education: New Labour ideological positioning in comparison to other ideological perspectives
(Continued)

	RADICAL RIGHT	NEW LABOUR	SOCIAL DEMOC- RATIC	LIBERAL PROGRESS- IVE	RADICAL LEFT
(iii). Pro-Teacher as Authority Figure in terms of both expertise and discipline	√√	√√	X	XX	XX
(iv). Pro-Traditional Curriculum Content and Methods	√√	√√	O	XX	XX
(v). Pro-Traditional Morality	√√	√	X	X?X	XX
(vi). Anti-Changing Society to secure more social justice	√√	√	X	X	XX
(vii). Anti-Multiculturalism	√√	X	X	X	X
(viii). Anti-anti-racism	√√	O?	X	√	XX
(ix). Priority for Subject Knowledge and Practical Skills	√√	√√	O	XX	O
(x). Anti-Educational Theory in ITE	√√	√	X	XX	XX
(xi). Anti-HEI Involvement in ITE	√√	O	XX	XX	XX
(xii) Pro-setting up a competitive market in routes into teaching	√√	√√	XX	X	XX
(xiii). Pro-Totally School- Based ITE Routes	√√	√	XX	XX	XX

(Continued overleaf)

Table 5.5: Fifteen Radical Right Policy Positions in Initial Teacher Education: New Labour ideological positioning in comparison to other ideological perspectives
(Continued)

	RADICAL RIGHT	NEW LABOUR	SOCIAL DEMOC- RATIC	LIBERAL PROGRESS- IVE	RADICAL LEFT
(xiv). Pro-Cutting Cost of ITE	√√	√√	O	X	XX
(xv). Pro-Regulation of ITE via tightly defined and monitored Competencies or Standards	√√	√√	X	XX	X?

Key	√√	strong agreement	?	not clear/arguably so
	√	agreement	??	not at all clear/very arguably so
	O	equanimity		
	X	disagreement		
	XX	strong disagreement		

Overall Analysis of New Labour's policy in Initial Teacher Education

When compared to the Conservative government's Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) Criteria of 1984 and 1989 (DES 1984, 1989a), and when set in the context of what could have been done to promote critical reflection and a more egalitarian curriculum for ITE, the New Labour proposals are modest indeed. Conservative policy on ITE, based as it is on a neo-Conservative cultural nationalism and authoritarianism and a neo-liberal competitive, individualist anti-egalitarianism, was adopted *almost in toto* by the New Labour government in its *Circulars 10/97* and *4/98*.

In the field of ITE, New Labour policy is, essentially, continuing the neo-liberal and neo-conservative policies of the previous government. It is modifying some of them slightly, in classically social democratic fashion, in ways that might create spaces for theoretical and equal opportunities work, which has been re-legitimated. New Labour has also (as

suggested with respect to its policies in general, by Giddens [1998] and Driver and Martell [1998]) re-legitimated the role of the state in promoting technical efficiency, and in promoting a greater degree of social inclusion, thereby opening some minor space for the development and implantation of egalitarian and critical teaching (albeit in the name of major recognition of equal opportunities and cultural diversity). Likewise, a very minor degree of critical pedagogy and critical reflection have been facilitated via citizenship in the National Curriculum for schools (see Hill and Cole, 1999b), and via modified requirements for student teachers (in *Circulars 10/97* and *4/98*; see Cole, 1999b,c) and, to a greater extent, in the July 2001 *Standards* and accompanying *Handbook* (as discussed above).

These spaces were virtually closed down by the Conservative 1992/93 DFE criteria, and would have been even more so in the putative Conservative Party National Curriculum for 'Teacher Training'. However, New Labour has, *to an overwhelming extent*, accepted the Radical Right revolution in schooling and Initial Teacher Education, as it has in schooling, scarcely amending the Conservative legacy in terms of routes into teaching or in terms of the curriculum.

In policy and discourse, then, New Labour on ITE displays both continuities and differences with those of the Conservatives. This of course aligns with other policy principles and decisions by the Blair government. The essential continuity between Conservative Party and New Labour policy on ITE contrasts with the lack of continuity between New Labour and 'Old' or 'Traditional' Labour, Social Democratic or Radical Left policy on ITE. I now turn to an ideological analysis of wider New Labour education policy.

Part Three: New Labour Education Policy and Ideology

New Labour and Education prior to the 1997 General Election

Education policies with New Labour *in government* were presaged and preceded by a major series of ideological and policy changes across the range of wider government

policy, which derived from the election of Tony Blair as Leader of the Labour Party in 1994.

Opposition to the New Labour changes from Labour's proponents of traditional social democracy has come from not only from the 'Old Left' socialists and Marxists within the Labour Party (such as the Campaign Group of Labour MPs) but also former social democrats such as Roy Hattersley, influenced by writers such as Crosland and Tawney. These two different groups, historically opposed to each other as they are, comprise 'Old Labour' (6) and agree with Hattersley's comment (1996) that the ideological lodestar of any Labour policy should be whether or not it will lead to 'equality of outcome'. This is distinct from the 'equality of opportunity' argued for by New Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown (1996, 1997). In the eyes of both the Radical Left and the traditional social democrats, this 'soft' version of equality of opportunity is an equality of the opportunity to become unequal.

With respect to schooling, both the Radical Left and traditional social democrats have attacked New Labour over issues of selection and comprehensivisation – such as the New Labour acceptance (albeit in modified form) of Opted-Out (Grant Maintained) schools, and selective Grammar schools. At the public launch in December 1995 of *Excellence and Diversity: Labour's Crusade to Raise Standards* (The Labour Party, 1995) the Labour Party policy on education, the Shadow Education Secretary David Blunkett reversed Labour policy by refusing to commit a Labour government to comprehensivisation – i.e., the abolition of grammar schools – a refusal maintained ever since. This acceptance of hierarchical diversity in schooling exposed major divisions in the Party, exemplified in the scale of reaction to the decisions of Labour Leader Tony Blair (in 1995) to send his son to an 'opted out' (non-LEA) school (the London Oratory School), and of the shadow cabinet member Harriet Harman (in 1996) to send one of her sons to a selective grammar school. The existence and intensification of social class-based selection in secondary schooling, through the mechanism of 'choice', has been graphically illustrated by the series of articles by Nick Davies in *The Guardian* (7) (Davies, 1999a, b, c) and in *The School Report: Why Britain's Schools are Failing* (Davies, 2000). Michael Barber, however, distinguished the new from the old commitments of the party by stressing Blair's criticism of the traditional idea of comprehensive schooling, because 'it did not come to terms with the diversity and

flexibility of provision needed to meet the diverse needs and talent of all our people'. (Barber, 1994).

Press reception of the December 1995 education policy statement *Excellence for Everyone* mainly noted the difference between New Labour and 'Old Labour' on the one hand, and the similarities between 'New Labour' and the Conservatives on the other, in respect of policies on teachers, on tests, on failing schools and, to a lesser extent, on Local Education Authorities (e.g. Carvel, 1995). The *Times Educational Supplement* was not alone in noting that 'both Labour and Conservatives declare education their national priority. Many of their policies also now bear striking similarities.' (TES, 1995c). According to Hackett, 'a mark of how far Labour has shifted is that Dr Madsen Pirie of the right wing Adam Smith Institute can claim that the party has taken bold steps in adapting its policies on the need to close failing schools and its stress on the need for parental responsibility'. (Hackett, 1995, in the article 'Labour accused of "teacher-bashing"').

In 1997, the six 'promises' in the New Labour general election manifesto were to cut class sizes to 30 or under for 5, 6 and 7 year-olds; provide nursery places for all four year-olds; attack low standards in schools; provide access to computer technology; provide lifelong learning through a new University for Industry; and to spend more on education as the cost of unemployment falls (Labour Party, 1997; DfEE 1997b).

New Labour's Principles in Education for 1997 to 2001 and for 2001 to 2006

In the following list, I address key areas of education policy from New Labour's plans for education from 2001 till 2006, and its claims regarding its achievements 1997–2001. Each point is offset by analysis of the principles and effects – and therefore the ideological trajectory – of New Labour education policy overall. I have focused, in particular, on issues of equality and inequality (for further detail and discussion, see Hill, 1999, 2000a,b, 2001d,e; Muschamp et al, 1999; Power and Whitty, 1999; Docking, 2000).

1 *Improving Standards*

The New Labour government claims that standards of attainment have been achieved through: a combination of support and pressure; regular inspections of schools and of LEAs; performance targets; published tables of achievement; delegating more resources to schools; the Beacon Schools initiative of rewarding selected schools financially so they could share their expertise; and 'getting tough', (partly through 'naming and shaming') with 'failing' schools and LEAs.

The 2001 Green (Consultative) Paper (DfEE, 2001a,b) and the September 2001 White Paper (DfES, 2001b) catalogue New Labour's achievements in terms of 'more investment' and 'improved outcomes'. Thus:

- More children leave primary school able to read and write well: 75% of children achieved the standards for their age in 2000 compared to 54% in 1996;
- More children leave primary school numerate: 72% achieved Level 4 and above in 2000 compared to 54% per cent in 1996
- Progress in primary school English and Mathematics is fastest in the most disadvantaged areas of the country
- More young people now achieve 5 or more higher grades as GCSE: 49.2% compared to 46.3% in 1998
- The percentage of children of parents whose occupation is 'unskilled or semi-skilled manual' achieving 5 higher grades at GCSE also rose faster than the national average (DfEE, 2001b: 4–5).

The Green Paper and the White Paper also note fewer schools going into 'special measures' and fewer unsatisfactory lessons, also promising to focus on improving secondary school standards in a New Labour second term (in contrast to the primary school focus of the first term in office).

Analysis

With improvement through *standards and control*, the emphasis is on 'standards not structures'. Governmental and managerial control over education has been increased, and reinforced by punitive measures – for example, through increasing use of compulsory

testing; setting measurable targets; centralized control of the school and ITE curriculum; surveillance and monitoring of pupils, teachers and those involved in 'initial teacher training'; punishment of 'failing' teachers, schools, Local Education Authorities (LEAs), teacher training departments, and 16–18 year-olds who do not participate in the 'New Deal' (of education, training, voluntary work or work). The Green paper promises a reduction in central control, with 'light touch' inspections, for example, in the future.

The focus for improvement is *Managerialism*. This is secured through the focus of policy on 'Improving Schools' (and LEAs) and by School Effectiveness strategies to raise standards; also by stratifying the teaching workforce, for example by Performance Related Pay (PRP) and 'superteachers' (see Allen, 1999 for a discussion).

The standards to be maintained and improved are, for the most part, traditional ones. *Traditionalism* is sustained through the continuation (despite the 1999 Review of the National Curriculum) of the eurocentric and traditionalist Conservative National Curriculum of 1995; the assault on liberal-progressive education (e.g. attacks on mixed-ability teaching and concentration on 'back to basics' in the curriculum with the Literacy Hour and Numeracy Hour in Primary schools).

2 'Modernising' comprehensive education/ encouraging selection and diversity

New Labour attacks 'bog standard' comprehensives and is steadily reintroducing selection into secondary schooling. It claims that it is encouraging 'diversity' in types of schools to meet the needs and aspirations of all children. For example it claims that local parents can decide on the future of their grammar schools, and insists that schools should 'abandon a dogmatic attachment to mixed-ability teaching'. The number of 'specialist' schools (in technology, languages, sports and arts, with new specialisms in business, science, engineering and enterprise) should reach nearly a half of all secondary schools by 2006 (DfEE, 2001b:7); and it proposes a more flexible National Curriculum 'to allow pupils to develop their special talents'.

Analysis

New Labour's policy and plans for more *Competitiveness and Selection* are a continuation, indeed, an extension, of most of the structural aspects of the 1988

Conservative Education Reform Act, in terms of the macro-structure and organization of schooling. The Radical Right principle of competition between schools (which results in an increasing inequality between schools) and the principle of devolving more and more financial control to schools through local management of schools, are all in keeping with preceding Conservative opposition to comprehensive education and to the powers of LEAs.

The major focus of New Labour's February 2001 plan for education for 2001–2006 was greeted by a *Daily Mail* front-page article 'Death of the Comprehensive' (Halpin, 2001). The Green Paper promised that nearly half of all secondary schools would become 'specialist schools' by 2006. These schools are allowed to select up to 10% of their pupils 'by aptitude' and receive extra funding of £123 per pupil per year. These proposals remained unaltered in the September 2001 White Paper, and were greeted across the political spectrum in the newspapers of 5 and 6 September, by recognition that selection in schooling was returning with a vengeance. To take two examples, the *Daily Telegraph* editorial of 6 September, 2001 noted that,

The language in which education is discussed has changed. The government's education White Paper ... includes a section entitled 'Excellence, innovation and diversity' ... the White Paper's most important contribution ...[is] accepting that variety is better than uniformity and that the private and voluntary sectors can make valuable contributions to that variety.

Similarly, the Radical Right philosopher Anthony O'Hear, writing in *The Daily Mail*, was in no doubt that 'the White Paper signals not just the end of the bog standard comprehensive. It signals the end of the comprehensive ideal, pure and simple.' He also noted that 'gone is the desire to give all children the same education and the same National Curriculum from 5–16, and to assess them at the end of compulsory schooling with one uniform exam, the GCSE.'

In the (London) *Evening Standard*, Simon Jenkins called the White Paper a 'shameful step back to the 11-plus' (Jenkins, 2001), and that

the political force behind yesterday's White Paper is to help middle class parents who cannot afford private schools to avoid having to seat their children alongside London's burgeoning immigrant population ...

the White paper offers those rejected by the system only the stigma of institutional failure. (idem).

Similarly, Frances Beckett comments 'the government has declared war, not just on comprehensive schools, but on the comprehensive principle itself' (Beckett, 2001).

3 Inclusion

New Labour promises to 'benefit the many not the few'. This includes targeted expenditure for areas of social exclusion, setting targets for schools to reduce truancy and exclusion rates by one third by 2002, and the 'New Deal' for 18 to 24 year-olds, to ensure that young people without qualifications are in work, education or training.

New Labour's policies on Social Inclusion through targeted expenditure involve some increases in spending targeted at areas of Social Exclusion. These policies include: increased resourcing for inner city and other areas of social exclusion, Education Action Zones, Education Maintenance Allowances for poor 16–18 year-olds, and increased capital and revenue budgets for schools and LEAs (to reduce Primary class sizes and to repair and improve schools buildings, for example). There is also a whole raft of (interventionist) measures such as summer schools, mentoring projects and school-post school links, together with the 'Excellence in Cities' programme, which 'will include one third of all secondary age pupils by September 2001' (DfEE, 2001b:7).

New Labour's 2001 Green Paper comments that 'universal nursery education for all 4 year-olds is now in place. There has been a significant expansion for 3 year-olds. In total there are 120,000 more free nursery places than in 1997' (DfEE, 2001b: 9). It also promises to 'ensure that every school with fewer than 25% achieving 5 or more A*– C at GCSE or more than 35 per cent on free school meals receives extra targeted assistance' (idem), and 'expand Sure Start (a programme aimed at helping pre-school children in poorer areas) to include 500 programmes, to support 400,000 under-4s, one third of under-4s living in poverty, by 2004' (ibid: 6). The White Paper expands on support for schools and children 'in the most challenging circumstances' (ibid: 49–51) detailing additional funded schemes and additional funding for 'increasing the participation of under-represented groups in higher education' (ibid: 35).

However, as commented on Anthony O'Hear above, the White Paper, promises possibly widespread (and social class-based) misapplication of – and exclusion from – the National Curriculum. Furthermore, New Labour's introduction of student fees for higher education is beginning to show signs of reinforcing elitism and excluding poorer groups from study.

Analysis

These classically social democratic equal opportunities measures of targeted expenditure occur within the overall context of New Labour privatisation and low public expenditure strategies in the first term of office (see below). As the conclusion to this chapter suggests, this policy of social inclusion is contradicted and, to an extent, interdicted, by the widening social and educational gaps consequent upon selection and hierarchy in schooling.

4 'Creating new partnerships'/ private sector involvement

The 2001 Green Paper promises to change the law 'to allow external sponsors to take responsibility for underperforming schools against fixed-term contracts of five to seven years with renewal subject to performance' (DfEE, 2001b: 3), and to expand the City Academy programme 'to enable sponsors from the private and voluntary sectors to establish new schools in areas of historic underperformance' (ibid: 7). The White Paper calls for 'creating a diverse range of partners and providers' (ibid: 43), proposes that 'the City Academy programme means that sponsors from private, voluntary and faith groups can establish new schools whose costs are fully met by the state' (ibid: 44), that any new LEA school will have to open to bidding from the private sector. In short, in the words of the White Paper, 'we also want to encourage schools to choose to establish new partnerships with other successful schools, the voluntary sector, faith groups or the private sector' (ibid: 44).

Analysis

New Labour is strengthening the role of privatisation and business involvement in the management/control of schools and LEAs. Business has been courted to take the leading role in Education Action Zones and the Further Education Funding Council (FEFC) and Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) have been replaced by a Skills Council. The

White Paper's most controversial aspect (as evidenced by motions to the 2001 Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conferences) has been over the creeping privatisation of schooling and education. (This is discussed in some detail in Chapter Ten. See also Reagan, 2001). The Private Finance Initiative (PFI) enabling private funding for and ultimate control over new schools and colleges has been expanded.

5 Increasing Public Expenditure on Education

Both the Green and the White papers are replete with information about proposals for increased spending on education.

Analysis

The first term of New Labour in office involved a regime of low public expenditure, with strictly controlled and limited overall spending on education. New Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair, following eighteen years of public expenditure cuts under Conservative governments (1979–1997), claims that 'public expenditure has more or less reached the limits of its acceptability' (Blair and Schroeder, 1999). By this they mean, not that the level is as low as is acceptable, but the opposite. For Blair, the level of public expenditure had reached the highest level acceptable, hence, other perhaps than in a pre-election period, he is disinclined to raise public spending.

Despite the increases announced in July 2000 by Chancellor Gordon Brown for extra spending (including an extra £12 billion for education over three years), it was then projected that by 2005 *public spending* would have risen to only 40.5% of GDP – still less than in John Major's last year as Prime Minister (*The Guardian*, 1999a), a 'smaller share than in most other developed countries' (Coyle, 2000) and less than the 49.9% in 1976 (Toynbee, 2000). Toynbee also points out that the increase in funding on education under New Labour will be 3.8% over the Parliament up to 2002, compared to John Major's 1.6%. But she adds that Gordon Brown's first two years as Chancellor 'saw the lowest public spending in 35 years'. Larry Elliott notes that spending on the nation's infrastructure has been lower in each of New Labour's four years in office (1997–2001) than in the final twelve months of John Major's Conservative government – and only one quarter of what it was at the end of Jim Callaghan's (Old) Labour government in 1979 (Elliott, 2001)

Yet tax takes and public spending vary tremendously between different advanced industrial states. Taking taxes and social security contributions together, as a percentage of gross domestic product, there are wide variations across the European Union. According to Coates and Barratt Brown (1999), the 1997 figures (with 1986 percentages in brackets) are Sweden 53.3% (52.5%), Finland 47.3% (42.4%), France 46.1% (44.0%), UK 35.3% (37.8%), USA (1986 figures only) 25.8%. (ibid: 50.).

Cuts in state spending on education have been savage throughout both the developed and developing economies. According to the 1998 OECD report on spending per secondary pupil, the UK is bottom of the league table with £2680, as against the EU average of £3145. (Germany spends £3946 per pupil) (*TES*, 2000. See Marginson, 1997 for details, for example, on Australia).

The government response is that in its first term of office, its major concern was to reassure voters that it was economically competent and not spendthrift. Thus, *for education*, the 2001 Green Paper promises major increases in spending, for example that 'by 2003–04 we will be spending on average £700 more per pupil in real terms than in 1997–98' (DfEE, 2001b: 14). However, be that as it may, 'Labour squeezed spending on Britain's schools and universities in its first term to the lowest share of national income since the 1960s' (Stewart, Denny and Woodward, 2001). The September 2001 report by Howard Glennester (reported in Stewart *et al*, 2001) shows that spending on education fell to just 4.5% of GDP in 1998 and 1999, 'a lower level than under Margaret Thatcher's government when it fell to 4.7%'. Glennester points out that despite the extra money (referred to above in Brown's July 2000 Spending Review), education's share of GDP will, by 2003–4, only have returned to the levels of the early 1990s. 'Real-term spending per pupil, too, is only now beginning to creep up to the levels of five years ago ... It was not until 1999/2000 that real per pupil spending in secondary schools rose above the 1995/6 level in England'. Glennester continues that the government has promised to boost spending per pupil by over a quarter in real terms by 2003/4. This, however, is presumably dependent on other financial exigencies.

New Labour Education Policies: Ideological Categories

As with ITE, New Labour policies on education in general since the election of May 1997 can be related to categories ranging from social democratic to Radical Right **(8)**. I provide examples in the following (although again, these categories are not exhaustive and certain policies can be related to more than one category).

Table 5.6: New Labour social democratic Education Policies

- nursery education on parental demand
- reduced class sizes for 5–7 year-olds
- policy focus on reducing social disadvantage in schooling through a variety of funded schemes, ranging from increased spending on Education Action Zones (EAZs), to summer schemes for 16 year-olds, education maintenance grants for further education students from poor backgrounds
- proposals to increase the number of students in further and higher education
- increased expenditure in (EAZs)
- increased expenditure for 'Excellence in Cities', targeted at areas of particular social need
- planning an overarching post-16 agency to control competition between institutions and replace it by co-operation
- some use of research expertise from the education community, related to instrumental ends such as researching the effectiveness of different experiments within EAZs

Table 5.7: Continuation of Conservative technicist policies (that are not identifiably/particularly Neo-liberal, Neo-conservative or Thatcherite)

- intensification of a regime of testing and assessment for school pupils/students (by the addition of tests for 5 year-olds)
- extension of Ofsted inspections and controls on nursery education
- extension of Ofsted inspections and controls on further education
- intended introduction and application of subject content and standards controls over higher education via the Quality Assurance Agency
- policies for the increase of information technology and techno-ideology throughout the schooling system

Table 5.8: Continuation/acceptance of ideologically Neo-liberal, Neo-conservative or Thatcherite policies

- the competitive market in schooling between schools of the same type (albeit with some minor modification)
- the accompanying mantra of 'standards not structures'
- increasing the focus on 'the basics' in the school curriculum
- the neo-conservative, utilitarian national curriculum in schooling and in Further Education
- lack of locally elected democratic accountability across much of the education system (albeit in a modified form with some extra powers given to LEAs, and an increased number of parent governors on school governing bodies)
- 'naming and shaming' of 'errant' LEAs and schools, and the accompanying
- closures of 'failing' schools
- stressing managerialist solutions to schooling problems as opposed to financial/ intake/ curricula solutions
- restricted financing of education that met Conservative public expenditure limits 1997–1999 – despite publicized 'improvements' and targeting – and a planned overall increase that is notably meagre

Table 5.9: New Labour extension of ideologically Neo-liberal, Neo-conservative or Thatcherite policies

- the attack on mixed-ability teaching;
- Performance Related Pay (PRP) for teachers, and the accompanying
- policy for superteachers
- extending para-educational, lower-paid and trained teaching assistants in the classroom
- extending, and more highly funding, specialist (i.e. to an extent selective) magnet and specialist schools, thereby increasing the competitive market in schooling
- introducing fees for undergraduate courses, in addition to student loans
- private company control over schools in EAZs
- private company control over 'failing' LEAs
- private contracting out of particular schools
- the extension of the Private Finance Initiative (PFI), whereby private companies build schools and lease them to LEAs but thereafter own them outright
- increasing the focus on 'the basics' in the school curriculum.

These last four policies may be seen as the beginning of the privatisation of the education system (9), and semi-privatisation of the state sector (Ainley, 1999), a policy extended in a major way in its education policy following the 2001 June general election victory, in particular via the September 2001 White Paper *Schools Achieving Success* (DfES, 2001b. See also the accompanying press release, DfES, 2001d).

Table 5.10 below presents a different analysis of New Labour education policies, placing them in relation to the Radical Right ideological themes identified in Chapter Two. It is instructive to note the degree of New Labour take-up of these themes by comparison with positions held by traditional Labour/ social democrats, and by the Radical Left. The relative – though not total – closeness of New Labour to the Radical Right can then be gauged through the distance from traditional 'Old' Labour/ social democracy, and, in particular, from the Radical Left and from liberal-progressivism.

Table 5.10: Sixteen Radical Right ideological themes showing Endorsement by New Labour in its Education Policy

	RADICAL RIGHT	NEW LABOUR	SOCIAL DEMO- CRATIC	LIBERAL PRO- GRESSIVE	RADICAL LEFT
1. Pro-Individualism	√√	√√	X	√√	X?
2. Pro-Privatisation and Private Enterprise, anti-Public Sector	√√	√	X	O	XX
3. Pro-Market Competition and Consumer Choice	√√	√√	X	√	XX
4. Pro-monitoring, measurement and surveillance of public welfare, social and educational services	√√	√√	?	XX	?
5. Pro-Cost Reduction/ profit/ cheapness/reducing costs of products and public services	√√	√√	X	X	XX
6. Anti-professional 'producer power'	√√	√	XX	XX	X
7. Pro-Tradition and Traditional Family	√√	√	O	XX	XX
8. Pro-Back to Basics	√√	√√?	√	XX	XX
9. Pro-Nationalism and 'Britishness'	√√	√?√	O	O	XX

(Continued overleaf)

Table 5.10: Sixteen Radical Right ideological themes showing Endorsement by New Labour in its Education Policy (Continued)

	RADICAL RIGHT	NEW LABOUR	SOCIAL DEMO- CRATIC	LIBERAL PRO- GRESSIVE	RADICAL LEFT
10. Anti-anti-racism	√√	O	X	√?O?	XX
11. Pro-Authority, Order and Social Control;	√√	√√?	O	XX	XX
12. Pro-Elite (Social, Cultural, Economic)	√√	√?	X	√	XX
13. Pro-Hierarchy and Social Differentiation	√√	√?	X	O?	XX
14. Anti-liberal progressivism	√√	√√	XX	XX	X
15. Anti-socialist/Marxism	√√	√√	√	√√	XX
16. 'Practical' Anti-theoretical bias and emphasis	√√	O	XX	XX	XX

Key	√√	strong agreement	? not clear/arguably so
	√	agreement	?? not at all clear/very arguably so
	O	equanimity	
	X	disagreement	
	XX	strong disagreement	

Conclusion

New Labour has accomplished the transition from Old Labour by claiming to be beyond old ideologies, beyond left and right and guided instead by principles of technicist and technological and managerial efficiency. Blairism, lauded by theorists such as Giddens

and Halpin, and by neo-liberal think tanks such as the Adam Smith Institute, stifles debate about the ends and purposes of policy, and concentrates instead on more efficient and technologically advanced means.

In an overall determination of the New Labour government's education ideology, some of the policies analysed and categorised in Hill (1999a) (and extended in Hill, 2000b, c, 2001d, e, 2002a) are more overarching, more influential than are others (See also Gamarnikow and Green, 1999; Hatcher, 1999, 2000a, 2001; Muschamp, Jamieson and Lauder, 1999; Power and Whitty, 1999; Docking, 2000; Tomlinson, 2000 for similar, though not identical analyses). Of the seven most important, two might be deemed social democratic (targeted funding at the poorest areas; use of the state in addition to the market to raise standards); and one neo-conservative (the neo-conservative curriculum in schools and teacher education/training). However, in the remaining four policies of privatisation – of Performance Related Pay (PRP), of reliance on grossly socially divisive selective market in schooling, and in the overall low-level of public expenditure on education (10) – New Labour education policy is dominated by neo-liberalism.

As will be argued in Chapters Seven and Nine, analysis of one or two areas of policy, the operation of one or two ideological state apparatuses, might help determine a government's ideological trajectory. Yet to consider the relation of education policy to overall policy requires the bigger picture of state policy (see Jessop, 1990; Hill, 1994d, e; 2001a; Hill and Cole, 1995). This is because it may or may not be the case that one particular set of state apparatuses – in this case the education state apparatuses – accord with the operations of other state apparatuses, or with the overall direction of state policy under a particular government. State theories take cognisance of the disarticulations and inconsistencies in policy production and implementation. This is so both vertically (in the 'chain of command' from Ministry level to shop floor/classroom level), and horizontally – for example in disagreements that might occur between the Prime Minister, the secretary of State for Education and Employment and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

However, while recognizing that disarticulations do occur, the conclusion from the evidence of this Chapter is that New Labour education policy is congruent with, and an important constituent part of, the overall ideological thrust of New Labour policy.

The key difference between 'Old' and New Labour is that between the concern for more equal outcomes on the one hand, and on the other the (New Labour) concern for more equal opportunities but within an acceptance of existing degrees of inequality of outcomes. New Labour is criticized by both traditional Labour and the Radical Left for its refusal to use the language of equality and implement egalitarian policies. Hatcher notes the example of the 1994 Green Consultation Paper on Education, where the Labour party 'is extremely weak on the issue of tackling inequalities of gender, "race" and class' and 'assimilates the issue of social class inequalities into the general rubric of raising standards' (Hatcher, 1994a). In contrast with The Swann Report (1985) and the Labour Party documents as late as 1994, New Labour continues 'more with Conservative education policy of the 1990s than with the egalitarian reform movement of the 1980s' (Hatcher, 1994a).

Hatcher (1996) quotes Cohen's (1994) observation that 'in its quest to occupy the supposed middle group of British politics, Labour is abandoning even its traditional moderate goals. It represents an important accommodation to conservative education discourse of the 1980s.' (Hatcher, 1996: 34). He quotes Walter Secada, describing a similar situation in education in the US, where 'equity has become little more than trickle down excellence' (Secada, 1989: 3), and 'the original concern for the education of women, minorities and individuals from lower socio-economic background was submerged to a concern for improving education for 'everyone' (ibid: 2, cited in Hatcher, 1996:34).

The concern with social inclusion and social exclusion in New Labour policy and rhetoric disguises, rhetorically replaces, the existence of social class and its attendant inequalities (11). New Labour is determinedly not egalitarian, having turned its back on the 1976 Labour Party statement (incidentally, on which I fought the 1979 general election for Labour):

Our programme is founded on the principles of democracy and socialism. At its head is a basic socialist priority: to bring about a fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of power and wealth in favour of working people and their families (Labour Party, 1976:10).

School improvement and school effectiveness may be desirable (who wants declining or ineffective schools?), but the concepts of school effectiveness and of school improvement have, intrinsically, nothing whatsoever to do with the concept of equality (11).

New Labour policy and discourse on education, on schooling and Initial Teacher Education in particular, display both continuities and differences with Thatcherism. The major continuities are a regime of low public expenditure, privatisation, and the maintenance of a selective, 'specialist' and exclusionary education system. Yet unlike the rhetoric of Thatcherism, the gloss over New Labour selectiveness is the concern to overcome 'social exclusion', the effort to 'include' the excluded – in a system that excludes at every level (12). This market system is becoming ever more selective and exclusionary (Davies, 1999a, b, c, 2000). New Labour is actually spreading the frontiers of neo-liberalism in education, in its promotion of the business ethic and privatised control over schooling and education (Hatcher, 2001, Rikowski, 2001c, d), and in its under-funding of public services and, in particular, the education service.

This contrasts with the lack of continuity between New Labour and 'Old' Labour/ social democratic and with Radical Left policy on ITE. While there are numerous examples of traditional social democratic 'big state' interventions, and while there is some targeted socially redistributive expenditure, these have to be set within the larger policy context of low public funding and the maintenance – and extension – of the bulk of the Thatcherite neo-liberal and neo-Conservative restructuring of education.

Notes

1. In addition to these two routes for the over 24s, New Labour has introduced a new Modular Post-Graduate Certificate in Education course (PGCE).
2. The New Labour Government criteria and standards for ITE are contained in Circular 4/98, *Teaching: High Status, High Standards: Requirements for Courses of Initial Teacher Training*. This superseded previous Conservative and New Labour requirements for 'teacher training', such as the Labour government's Circular 10/97 (DfEE, 1997a) – described as 'the first ever national curriculum for initial teacher training' (DfEE 1998a:3).
3. See Cole 1999a; b for a discussion.
4. See Cole (1999a, b).
5. See Robertson (1999, 2001).
6. Driver and Martell, 1998, and Giddens, 1998, engage in detailed comparisons between what they term 'Old Labour' and New Labour. So does Hattersley, (1996, 1997a, b, 2000, 2001a, b) In this paper I use the term Labour to signify the traditional Labour Party, what some have termed 'real Labour'. I use the term 'Old Labour' only where Labour, in its longstanding traditional policy form, is thus described. The emblematic and policy shifts in the Labour Party's ideology have been discussed, with varying degrees of approbation e.g. Blair (1996, a, b, 1998); Blair and Schroeder, (1999) Driver and Martell (1998), Giddens (1998), Gould (1998), Mandelson and Liddle (1996), Perryman (1996), and with disapprobation e.g. Cliff and Gluckstein (1996), Cohen (1999), Cole (1998a), Cole and Hill (1997), Hill and Cole, (1999b) Hatcher and Jones (1996), Panitch and Leys (1999).
7. See Davies, 1999a, b, c. These are reproduced in Davies (2000).
8. The analysis of eight New Labour educational principles and forty-five policies in education is based on the speeches and writings of Tony Blair, David Blunkett and Michael Barber, together with press releases and other publications by the Labour Party, government legislation, Green (Consultation) and White Papers, DfEE press releases and Press sources. These are developed further in Hill, 1999a, 2000b, c, 2001d, e.
9. This is a view put forward, *inter alia*, by Cole (1999a), Hatcher (1998a, 1999, 2000a); Hatcher and Hirtt, 1999; Whitty (1998), Hill, (1999), Hill and Cole, (1999b).
10. For detail about the reduced level of public expenditure on education in England and Wales, see Hill, 1999a, 2000b, c; *The Guardian*, 1999a, b; Coyle, 2000, Toynbee, 2000.
11. For arguments concerning the salience of social class in capitalist society, see German, 1996; Hill, 1999b, 2001c; Sanders, Hill and Hankin 1999; McLaren and Farahmandpur, 1999, 2001a, b; Rikowski, 1999a, 2000b, 2001b, e; Hatcher, 2000b; Cole, Hill, McLaren and Rikowski, 2001; Hill, Sanders and Hankin, 2001; Hill and Cole, 2001b. These arguments are referred to in Chapters Seven and Nine. For more directly school-related publications on the salience of social class, see Finn, 1999; Knobel, 1999; Gewirtz, 2001; Hill, 2001c.
12. For a critique of the School Effectiveness and School Improvement movements see Chitty, 1997; Hatcher, 1997, 1998b, c; Mortimore and Whitty, 1997
13. As Pat Ainley puts it, 'Thatcherism with a smiley face, run efficiently (unlike under Major). (Personal communication).

Chapter Six

OPPOSITIONAL APPROACHES TO INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION: THE RADICAL LEFT

In this chapter, I examine Radical Left oppositional approaches to Conservative and New Labour Government policy on Initial Teacher Education.

Part One: The Radical Left Commitment

Initial Teacher Education

The defining principles of the type of Radical Left policy being advanced in this thesis are set out below. Of these, the first two are *essentially* Radical Left, while the others may be adhered to by other ideological positions. The principles for ITE are expressed in the following table and expanded analysis:

Table 6.1: Radical Left Principles for Initial Teacher Education

- | |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. the promotion of egalitarianism instead of meritocracy2. the development of teachers as critical, emancipatory, transformative intellectuals3. democratic pedagogy among a variety of pedagogies4. democratic management within education5. a broader definition of standards than narrowly defined and tested academic attainment |
|---|

(Continued overleaf)

Table 6.1: Radical Left Principles for Initial Teacher Education (Continued)

- | |
|---|
| 6. a critically interrogated partnership between schools and colleges
7. critical use of research evidence |
|---|

1. *The promotion of egalitarianism instead of meritocracy*

In the concept of equality as *egalitarian* rather than 'more efficiently meritocratic', the Radical Left strives for significantly lower differentials in schooling outcomes, as in society. This is in opposition to (for example) the New Labour and neo-liberal vision of equal opportunities leading to (and within a context of) high differentials between top and bottom strata, albeit in a more socially mobile meritocracy.

This Radical Left concern for equality embraces a policy to achieve far more equal outcomes – moving towards eradicating the gap, for example, in the academic attainments of working-class children and those of middle- and upper-class children **(1)**. Similarly, in the economic domain, it involves a commitment to a massive narrowing of differentials in wages/income and wealth **(2)**. Teacher education, it is argued by the Radical Left, should have a commitment to social justice and equality in society and in the economy, as well as to improving academic *standards*. Indeed, in a concern for the standards of attainment of *all*, the two commitments (to equality and standards) are inseparable.

2. *The development of teachers as critical, emancipatory, transformative intellectuals*

The particular Radical Left model advanced in this thesis also stresses the development of teachers and teacher educators as *critical, emancipatory, transformative intellectuals*, as democratic and active citizens and professionals committed to a morality of economic and social justice. This is based on a critically interrogated diversity of culture, social class, 'race', sex and sexuality as part of a radical democratic egalitarian, and anti-authoritarian political project. (These concepts are discussed in Chapter Ten).

Among their motivations and skills are to transform children's/ students' awareness of scholastic, social, political, ideological and economic life into a critical awareness. This

necessitates a knowledge and understanding of power relations and structures in micro- and macro-societies and ideologies, and a commitment to render social, economic, political and other power relationships more equal. Therefore, schooling is located within the wider societal context, while the limitations of school-based movements for social and political change are recognized.

These first two principles indicate the necessity for ITE courses to develop 'critical reflection'. Teacher education has to be about more than classroom abilities limited to passing out pre-set nationally approved 'facts', plus competence in crowd control. Teachers without the capacity to stimulate critical enquiry leave education always on the edge of indoctrination and quiescence. A course that limits teachers to a single view of one set of classrooms – with little theoretical understanding of the process or history of education – lacks intellectual rigour. Yet the aim is not egalitarian indoctrination. As discussed in the section on 'Critical Reflection' in Chapter Four, critical transformative intellectuals seek to enable student teachers and teachers (and school students) to critically evaluate a range of salient perspectives and ideologies – including critical reflection itself – while showing a commitment to egalitarianism. For McLaren, 'critical pedagogy must ... remain critical of its own presumed role as the metatruth of educational criticism' (2000:184). This does not imply forced acceptance or silencing of contrary perspectives. But it *does* involve a privileging of egalitarian and emancipatory perspectives. It is necessary to be quite clear here. This *does* mean adhering to what Burbules and Berk (1999) have defined as 'critical pedagogy', as opposed to 'critical theory', since 'critical thinking's claim is, at heart, to teach how to think critically, not how to think politically; for critical pedagogy, this is a false distinction' (idem: 54) (3).

All who teach or lecture need some understanding of views on what education is for, and what research and study make up the field. They need to hear the controversies rehearsed and to examine the evidence. Conservative and New Labour policy suggests one correct answer – managerial and technical efficiency within a neo-liberal global economy – to particular problems, and that such economic answers are 'commonsense', not at all 'ideological'.

The barbarities and iniquities in world capitalism are well documented in McMurtry (1999), in McLaren (2000) and in numerous other works. As Peter McLaren notes in

Che Guevara, Paolo Freire and the Pedagogy of Revolution, one of its greatest achievements is that it presents itself as natural, free and democratic,

as if it has now replaced the natural environment. It announces itself through its business leaders and politicians as coterminous with freedom, and indispensable to democracy such that any attack on capitalism as exploitative or hypocritical becomes an attack on world freedom and democracy itself' (McLaren, 2000:32).

McLaren shows that for Guevara and Freire, capitalism is the antithesis of freedom and democracy and is neither natural nor inevitable.

Thus the assumption that there is no need to bother developing critical reflection, no need to critically appraise such 'commonsense' and its economic, social, and political implications and effects. Indeed, such critical appraisal is deemed, variously, as extremist, 'loony left', living in the past/ dangerous. Such attitudes have also been deemed 'conservative', for example by Tony Blair in his criticism of 'the enemies of progress', clinging to out-dated notions such as socialism.

As stated above, these first two principles for teacher education are distinctively Radical Left. The others, below, are usually adhered to by Radical leftists, but are shared by those holding various different ideologies.

3. Democratic pedagogy among a variety of pedagogies

The principle of *democratic pedagogy* is required among a variety of pedagogies within ITE sessions and within schooling. Learning processes in classrooms at all levels, an important part of the hidden curriculum, should themselves not escape critical appraisal and evaluation. This applies to pedagogy, teaching and organizing the learning of four year-olds in reception classes as well as of forty-four year old 'mature' student teachers. Further, pedagogical strategies should be based on the premise that when learners are equipped to recognize injustice and develop strategies to challenge it, they are more likely to feel confident enough to be participative, critical citizens later. One version of democratic pedagogy is the particular set of non-hierarchical and set of collaborative teacher-pupil/student relationships set out in Chapter Four, in the discussion of liberal-progressivism in education. Some Radical Left criticisms of liberal-progressivism are set

out briefly in note 8 of that chapter. Another, more critical version is defined by Giroux, drawing on Freire. This is set out and critiqued below and in the criticisms I offer of Giroux's vision of a (critical) postmodern high school in Chapter Nine.

However, teachers at all levels of education should learn about, try out and adopt a variety of teaching and learning methods. This much has been recommended by research observations on effective methods for teaching and learning from the work of Nevil Bennett, Maurice Galton, and Robin Alexander (Bennett, 1976, 1992; Bennett et, 1984; Galton, Simon and Croll, 1980; Galton, 1989; Alexander, 1992; Alexander et al., 1992). Within this variety of pedagogies, the 'back to basics' neo-conservative stress by Conservative and New Labour governments on a return to didactic, authoritarian whole-class teaching ability grouping methods, is retrograde. On the contrary, there should be collaborative problem-solving and creative learning methods, in tandem with individualised work. This does not preclude authoritative, didactic lecture-type instructional methods where appropriate: pedagogies must themselves be critically appraised in terms of their fitness for purpose, together with their effects.

Pedagogy for most schools in England and Wales has been dominated by the National Curriculum since its introduction in 1988. This now defines the shape of most discussion about Pre-Service and In-Service Training for Teachers, so that instead of teachers looking for new materials, or redesigning what they do, working creatively with and for the benefit of pupils, many are compelled to function within what they regard as the National Curriculum strait-jacket. Even with the slimmed down post-Dearing National Curriculum of 1995, and with the New Labour new(ish) version of 2000, more schools, and more pre-service and in-service teachers, need to realize that the existing National Curriculum can be critically appropriated (e.g. Cole, Hill and Shan, 1997; Cole, 1999b,c; Hill and Cole, 1999; Cole, Hill, McLaren and Rikowski, 2001). Many teachers and other education workers are of course highly aware of this and committed to doing so – for example, exploiting the spaces for egalitarian work within the subjects of the National Curriculum, and understanding that the National Curriculum is not the whole curriculum. In other words, cross-curricular and wider curricular work must be as seriously addressed as the subject-based National Curriculum (4). The National Curriculum itself must be critically interrogated.

4. *Democratic management within education*

To effect *democratic management* within education (at classroom level as well as at school and college/ HEI level) is in opposition to the increasingly hierarchical, elitist and brutal systems of school, college and classroom management. Current managerialism, sometimes characterized as 'New Public Managerialism' (Bottery, 1998; Hatcher, 2000a; Mahoney and Hextall, 2000) is characterised by non-collegial, non-democratic systems of line management, where senior managers (in schooling, further education, higher education) are appointed on the basis of business rather than educational skills. Even where this is not the case, the differences in pay and power between senior managers and the shop-floor workforce have increased markedly since the 1980s.

5. *A broader definition of standards than narrowly defined and tested academic attainment*

In addition to the development of teachers as critical intellectuals, this Radical Left model encompasses *a broader definition of standards than narrowly defined and tested academic attainment* (standards that include personal and social behaviour and responsibility). This is not at all to derogate academic standards and the role they can play in enhancing the career and life chances of individuals, and a national economy in a globally competitive system. Adherence to high academic standards while avoiding labelling and stereotyping, which in practice writes off many working-class and black, Asian and other minority ethnic group children, is especially important. This is specifically pointed out by a series of Ofsted and other reports, such as the Ofsted document *Access and Achievement in Urban Education* (Ofsted, 1993a), the Gillborn and Gipps report on *Recent Research on the Achievement of Ethnic Minority Children in Schools* (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996), *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* (MacPherson, 1999), the *Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain* (Parekh, 2000), and the report *Educational Inequality: Mapping Race, Class and Gender* (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000). Satisfaction with low academic standards is like a plague on specific groups of children/students. Yet under-expectation typically occurs in the attitudes and practices of teachers of all ideological types – Radical Left as well as liberal progressive and Right wing. Hence, *in addition* to academic standards being the preserve of all rather than the few, schools and ITE should emphasize the collective and

collaborative, celebrate effort and achievement across a variety of areas of accomplishment: the dyslexic boy who gains a Grade D at GCSE English or the teenage girl who comes third in the all London cross-country championships, or the supportive friend and colleague.

6. A critically interrogated partnership between schools and colleges

A critically integrated partnership requires schools and colleges to work together to educate student teachers. The teachers for the future need to be fully critical professionals and intellectuals, and this entails more than just practical experience and more than just a theoretical perspective. It entails a critical interrogation of the roles of teachers and tutors; the willingness, capacity and desire of each to be critically reflective and to promote critical reflection; and the resources of time and money (in addition to the expertise and commitment just referred to). Schools need professionally prepared teachers to do a professional job with student teachers. They should also be effective teachers themselves, teachers whose courses have prepared them to use theory to critique and inform their own practice, and to use their (and others') practice to inform their theory. This has implications for the selection of schools. Some schools are conservative and do not have effective anti-sexist, anti-racist, anti-homophobic and anti-bullying policies, for example. Other schools are complacent, insensitive, and/or overwhelmed by the problems they and their students/pupils and teachers face. Arguably most schools are stuck, in general, at the levels of technical and/or contextual reflection. Student teachers should not be placed in such schools, but if they are, through lack of appropriate school placements being available, then students should be able to critically deconstruct the teaching practice they experience in them.

The best teacher education can be achieved through dialogue between schools and institutions of higher education, where time and care are taken to build on the strengths of past experience and expertise while encouraging future teachers to maintain flexible and open minds. A sound relationship between HEIs and schools is essential to good teacher education. However, a full partnership has to be based on what both school and HEI partners are best able to do. Time, money and staff resources need to be allocated, so that in-school mentoring and in-college and school support and critical evaluation are not attempted through an exhausting high-speed dash from one student to another. Here,

the data collected from various members of the teacher education community (student teachers, teacher educators, headteachers, teachers, HMI/ Ofsted (discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis) offers some pertinent guidelines. (The notion of partnership is developed in more detail in Chapter Ten of this thesis).

7. Critical use of research evidence

In ITE, *the critical use of research evidence* is required to evaluate, for example, different routes into teaching, as well as different styles of teaching and of organizing pupils/students, as part of preparing student teachers/ NQTs. In this respect the questions used in the 1993 Ofsted *New Teacher in School* Report (Ofsted, 1993b) are inadequate, far more limited than the already limited range of questions set out in the HMI *New Teacher in School* Reports of 1982 and 1988 (HMI, 1982, 1988; Ofsted, 1993b). ITE developments should be based on evaluation of what is widely regarded as *good practice* – including aspects of the CATE criteria for 1984 and 1989, and evidence from a range of organizations with an interest in schooling and ITE, including organizations such as the Commission for Racial Equality, the Equal Opportunities Commission, the Runnymede Trust, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and teacher and teacher educator trade unions. Inaccurate and misleading use and presentation of research evidence, such as that catalogued in detail by Mahoney and Hextall (2000) in relation to the TTA, clearly inhibits this concern with good practice.

Education in general

In more detail, and by way of a summary, this Radical Left theoretical framework can be operationalised more effectively for subsequent policy development by being expressed by five overarching principles below, and in fifteen more detailed principles (in *Table 6.2*):

List of five Overarching Principles for the Radical Left

- Vastly increased equality (of outcome)
- Fully comprehensive provision at all levels of the education system

(Continued overleaf)

List of five Overarching Principles for the Radical Left (Continued)

- Democratic community control of education
- Use of the local and national state to achieve a socially just (defined as egalitarian) anti-discriminatory society
- The creation of educational institutions as centres of critical debate.

Table 6.2: Radical Left Principles for Education

1. more resources and funding for education (e.g. through a higher rate of tax on profits and on the rich, and less spending on defence). This could open the possibility for smaller class sizes;
2. an end to selection in schooling, whether by assessment or 'aptitude' and the development of a fully comprehensive schooling and further and higher education system i.e. a change in the structure of schooling; an education system open to the whole community;
3. an end to the competitive market in schooling;
4. egalitarian redistribution of resources within and between educational institutions, including affirmative action for under-achieving individuals and groups;
5. a curriculum that includes discussion of present capitalist society, state socialist societies and democratic socialist ones;
6. opposition to some key aspects of liberal-progressive education, such as non-structured learning and little assessment of pupils/school students and its reliance on the Piagetian concept of 'readiness';
7. an egalitarian and anti-elitist common curriculum;
8. an egalitarian and anti-elitist informal (hidden) curriculum;
9. the teacher as authoritative, democratic, anti-authoritarian, engaging in critical pedagogy, with a commitment to developing critical reflection, a commitment to social justice and equality inside and outside the classroom;
10. increasing local community democratic accountability in schooling and further and higher education (e.g. LEA powers) and eliminating those of 'business' and private enterprise;

(Continued overleaf)

Table 6.2: Radical Left Principles for Education (Continued)

11. local community involvement in the schools and colleges;
12. Increasing the powers of democratically elected and accountable Local government (Education Authorities) with powers over redistribution of resources, quality control engaging, inter alia, in the development and dissemination of policies for equality of outcome (e.g. anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-homophobic policies and policies seeking to promote equality for the working class and the disabled);
13. an education system, the aim of which is the flourishing of the collective society, the community, as well as the flourishing of the individual;
14. fostering cultures within the classroom and within school and further education and higher education workplaces which are democratic, egalitarian, collaborative and collegiate – i.e. to replace what is sometimes a brutal managerialist culture with a more open and democratic one;
- 15 dialogic empowering education.

(Adapted from Hill, 1999a:17, 2001d: 26)

After defining what the Radical Left stands *for*, *Table 6.3* now shows what it is *against*. Radical Left ideology can be compared to the sixteen key Radical Right themes isolated in Chapter Two (*Table 6.3* is a version of *Table 5.10* in Chapter Five. The content is identical, but the presentation here commences in column two with the Radical Left).

Comparisons can then be made with the other education ideologies analysed in this thesis. The definition of these themes was given in Chapter Two in connection with Radical Right principles.

Table 6.3: Sixteen Radical Right ideological themes, showing endorsement by the Radical Left in its Education Policy

	RADICAL LEFT	RADICAL RIGHT	NEW LABOUR	SOCIAL DEMO- CRATIC	LIBERAL PRO- GRESSIVE
1. Pro-Individualism	X? ?? XX	√√	√√	X	√√
2. Pro-Privatisation and Private Enterprise, anti-Public Sector	XX	√√	√	X	O
3. Pro-Market Competition and Consumer Choice	XX	√√	√√	X	√
4. Pro-monitoring, measurement and surveillance of public welfare, social and educational services	? ?? or √	√√	√√	?	XX
5. Pro-Cost Reduction/ profit/ cheapness/reducing costs of products and public services	XX	√√	√√	X	X
6. Anti-professional 'producer power'	X	√√	√	XX	XX
7. Pro-Tradition and Traditional Family	XX	√√	√	O	XX
8. Pro-Back to Basics	XX	√√	√√?	√	XX
9. Pro-Nationalism and 'Britishness'	XX	√√	√?√	O	O
10. Anti-anti-racism	XX	√√	O	X	√?O?
11. Pro-Authority, Order and Social Control	XX	√√	√√?	O	XX

(Continued overleaf)

Table 6.3: Sixteen Radical Right Ideological Themes, showing endorsement by the Radical Left in its Education Policy (Continued)

	RADICAL LEFT	RADICAL RIGHT	NEW LABOUR	SOCIAL DEMO- CRATIC	LIBERAL- PRO- GRESSIVE
12.Pro-Elitism (Social, Cultural, Economic)	XX	√√	√?	X	√
13.Pro-Hierarchy and Social Differentiation	XX	√√	√?	X	O?
14.Anti-liberal progressivism	X	√√	√√	XX	XX
15. Anti-socialist/Marxism	XX	√√	√√	√	√√
16. 'Practical' Anti-theoretical bias and emphasis	XX	√√	O	XX	XX

Key	√√	strong agreement	? not clear/arguably so
	√	agreement	?? not at all clear/very arguably so
	O	equanimity	
	X	disagreement	
	XX	strong disagreement	

Part Two: Radical Left Models for Teacher Education

Oppositional Radical Left Discourse

I first want to set out three types of what are claimed by their proponents to be Oppositional Radical Left discourse from the English speaking world. This is because there is little written about either the intra-Radical Left debate or the distinctive characteristics of the various positions regarding education and teacher education (5).

I refer to these three Radical Left positions as the *culturalist voluntaristic transformative* position, the *voluntaristic pluralist* and the *structuralist reproductionist transformative*. These positions are related, respectively, to culturalist neo-Marxism, pluralist modernism

/postmodernism, and structuralist neo-Marxism. It is made clear in some detail in Chapters Seven and Nine that, despite the claims and intentions of their proponents, the second of these, associated with, for example, Popkewitz and Zeichner in particular (for example, in Zeichner and Liston, 1996) – pluralist modernism/ postmodernism – is not regarded as Radical Left in its analysis and effects. In various instances, however, it does claim a Radical Left status.

1. *The Culturalist Voluntaristic Transformative model.*

This aligns with the critical utopian 'transformative intellectual' identified with the 1980s and early 1990s work of Henry Giroux, Peter McLaren and Stanley Aronowitz. It calls for teachers to be 'public intellectuals', political activists within as well as outside the classroom, engaging in 'critical pedagogy'. The project is *possibilitarian*, concentrating on and privileging the autonomous agency of individual teachers, teacher educators and other cultural workers, and of groups and organizations of such workers. This approach is an application, within the field of education, of non-deterministic culturalist neo-Marxism.

2. *The Voluntaristic Pluralist model.*

The pluralistic critical project of the 'Madison School' theorists, such as Kenneth Zeichner and Tom Popkewitz, eschews political action within the classroom but calls for it *outside*. This, too, is *possibilitarian*, drawing on culturalist/ humanist neo-Marxism. It is committed to the autonomy of intellectuals and of students within the classroom as part of a pluralist discourse. It is arguable whether or not this is a Radical left position, though its anti-capitalist moral concern and commitment to social justice arguably define it as such. As a pluralist variant of the non-deterministic culturalist neo-Marxism described above, it is more in tune with what Burbules and Berk (1999) describe as 'critical theory', rather than the 'critical pedagogy' of Giroux, McLaren and Aronowitz. At times, as with Zeichner and Liston(1996) and Popkewitz and Fendler (1999), it veers determinedly into the pluralism of 'resistance' postmodernism (defined in Chapter Seven).

3. *The Structuralist Reproductionist Transformative model.*

This is the model advanced in this thesis, and is represented here by Kevin Harris (1979, 1982, 1994). While seeking the development of teachers as 'critical transformative intellectuals', it stresses the immensity of the barriers placed by the capitalist ideological and state apparatuses against school-based or intellectual-led political change. As such, it is within the deterministic structuralist neo-Marxist tradition, rather than the two voluntaristic culturalist humanistic neo-Marxist traditions of the Giroux and the Zeichner projects, described above.

In the 1980s in England and Wales, the dominant 'model of the teacher', espoused in CNAA and CATE documentation for ITE courses, was the model of 'the reflective practitioner' (the all-embracing term that I offset against three explicit levels of reflection in Chapter Four).

The critical reflective 'transformative' practitioner model, supported by the first and third models above, is a distinctive variant of the reflective practitioner model – distinctive in its intentions, its pedagogy and its curriculum content. Proponents of the second model demur from the intention to develop transformative practitioners, in the hope, presumably, that social reconstruction may follow from critical theory. In contrast, proponents of the first and third models, while disagreeing in their optimism about the degree of constraint imposed by capitalist structures, do agree that social reconstruction *should* follow from critical pedagogy, that it *should not* be left to remain at the level of critical theory. These two variants of Radical Left discourse on teacher education subscribe to the model of the teacher as critical reflective practitioner, while disagreeing on the site and likely effectiveness of the transformative activity.

I will now compare all three models in relation to the concept of relative autonomy.

Part Three: Relative Autonomy, Political Activism and the Transformative Intellectual

The Culturalist Voluntaristic Transformative Model

The distinctive perspectives of Henry Giroux and his associates in the 1980s and early 1990s, and of Peter McLaren in the 1990s, include:

1. concepts of 'the transformative' and 'public' intellectual;
2. defence of the transformative role of the teacher;
3. attack on the limited problematizing emancipatory goal of much radical theorizing;
4. attack on the politically limiting and weakening liberal pluralism of some post-modernists and modernists;
5. associated critique of *uncritical* acceptance of difference; student experience and voice;
6. the call for critical utopianism.

Giroux's last book before he announced his transition to post-Marxism and postmodernism (albeit to 'critical postmodernism') in *Border Crossings* (Giroux, 1992) was *Postmodern Education*, written with Stanley Aronowitz (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991). The corpus of Giroux's work during the 1980s calls for teachers to act as 'transformative intellectuals' (Giroux, 1983a, 1988a, b, 1989a, b; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1986, 1991; Giroux and Simon, 1988; Giroux and McLaren, 1989, 1991).

A 'Transformative Intellectual' is:

one who exercises forms of intellectual and pedagogical practice which attempt to insert teaching and learning directly into the political sphere by arguing that schooling represents both a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations. We are also referring to one whose intellectual preferences are necessarily grounded in forms of moral and ethical discourse exhibiting a preferential concern for the suffering and the struggles of the disadvantaged and oppressed. Here we extend the traditional use of the intellectual as someone who is able to analyse various interests and contradictions within society to someone capable of articulating emancipatory possibilities and working towards their realization. Teachers who assume the role of transformative intellectuals treat students as critical agents, question how knowledge

is produced and distributed, utilise dialogue, and make knowledge meaningful, critical, and ultimately emancipatory (Giroux and McLaren, 1986: 215).

Giroux's expansion of the category of 'transformative intellectual' emphasizes the interrelationship between the political and the pedagogical:

Central to the category of transformative intellectual is the necessity of making the pedagogical more political and the political more pedagogical ... Within this perspective, critical reflection and action become part of a fundamental social project to help students develop a deep and abiding faith in the struggle to overcome economic, political and social injustices, and to further humanise themselves as part of this struggle (Giroux, 1988a: 127–128)

McLaren (2000) extends the 'critical education' project into 'revolutionary pedagogy', which is clearly based on a Marxist metanarrative. Revolutionary pedagogy,

would place the liberation from race, class and gender oppression as the key goal for education for the new millennium. Education ... so conceived would be dedicated to creating a citizenry dedicated to social justice and to the reinvention of social life based on democratic socialist ideals. (ibid: 196).

Critique of Reproductionism in Education

In their work of the 1980s and early 1990s, Giroux and McLaren criticize theorists who fail to develop a radical notion of hope and possibility and are therefore anti-utopian. They reject the economic reproductive model associated with the correspondence theory of Bowles and Gintis, and the material aspects of Althusser's notion of ideology, and the cultural reproductive model of Bourdieu (6).

Giroux's main contention with reproductive theory is that:

By downplaying the importance of human agency and the notion of resistance, reproduction theories offer little hope for challenging and changing the repressive features of schooling. By ignoring the contradictions and struggles that exist in schools, these theories not only dissolve human agency, they unknowingly provide a rationale for not examining teachers and students in concrete school settings. Thus, they miss the opportunity to determine whether there is a substantial

difference between the existence of various structural and ideological modes of domination and their actual unfolding and effects. (Giroux, 1983b: 259).

There are never any guarantees that capitalist values and ideologies will automatically succeed, regardless of how strongly they set the agenda. As Stanley Aronowitz reminds us, 'In the final analysis, human praxis is not determined by its preconditions, only the boundaries of possibility given in advance' (cited in Giroux, 1983b: 261). Within neo-Marxism, the debate is over how flexible and constraining are these boundaries – a debate developed in Chapters Seven and Nine of this thesis, and in Hill, 2001a.

Along with other Radical Left and neo-Marxist analysts, Giroux asserts that teacher education programmes are designed to create intellectuals whose social function is primarily to sustain and legitimate the status quo (idem: 160). He opposes Left-wing 'reproductivist' educators (those that I associate with the deterministic reproductive model) for the failure to move beyond

the language of critique ... [that] fails to define teacher education as part of an extended counterpublic sphere ... and tends to remain trapped within the logic of social reproduction ... their language fails to grasp and acknowledge the concept of counter-hegemony. (Giroux, 1988a: 162).

Critique of Modernist and Postmodernist Pluralism in education

Giroux also opposes the 'pluralistic autonomistic school' of Radical Left critical theorists associated with Zeichner. Giroux and McLaren refer to 'orthodox radical educational theorists whose work hovers over, rather than directly engages with, the 'contradictions of the social order that their efforts seek to transform' (Giroux and McLaren, 1991:156. For them, 'the programmatic impetus of much radical educational reform remains fettered by the limited emancipatory guard of making "the everyday problematic"', while

the language of critique that informs much radical theorising is overly individualistic, Eurocentric, and androcentric, and ... fail(s) to acknowledge that the struggle for democracy, in the larger sense of transforming schools into democratic public spheres, takes political and ethical precedence over making teachers more adept at deconstructive 'double readings. (idem: 157).

Giroux and Aronowitz associate some radical educators with critical pedagogy that

at its worst ... comes perilously close to emulating the liberal democratic tradition in which teaching is reduced to getting students merely to express or access their own experiences. Teaching collapses in this case into a banal, unproblematic notion of facilitation, self-affirmation and self-consciousness It is not enough for teachers merely to affirm uncritically their student's histories, experiences and stories ... (this) is to run the risk of idealising and romanticising them. (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991: 117, 130).

While rejecting 'the postmodernism of reaction' associated with Baudrillard and Lyotard, as nihilistic, they also attack (liberal) postmodernism (and, I would say, the same applies to liberal modernism) 'for democratising the notion of difference in a way that echoes a type of vapid liberal pluralism ... difference often slips into a theoretically harmless and politically deracinated notion of pastiche' (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991:72). Although by 1992 a self-proclaimed postmodernist and post-Marxist (Giroux, 1992), Giroux has continued to make similar points (Giroux, 1992, 1994, 1997, 1999, 2000) and attack non-critical acceptance of plural 'voices' (7), in this period of his work

An analogy of this position can be made with reference to 'race' and education. Multiculturalism can be recognized as an advance over monoculturalist assimilationism but it is not enough simply to recognize and accept differences of voice or culture. The Giroux and McLaren position on 'difference' (Giroux, 1994; McLaren, 1994, 2000) is that while the recognition of difference is an advance on a mono-cultural denial of 'difference', an indiscriminating plural approach is precisely that, indiscriminating and uncritical:

to acknowledge different forms of literacy is not to suggest that they should all be given equal weight. On the contrary ... their differences are to be weighted against the capacity they have for enabling people to locate themselves in their own histories while simultaneously establishing the conditions for them to function as a part of a wider democratic culture. This represents a form of literacy that is not merely epistemological but also deeply political and eminently pedagogical. (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991: 51).

Giroux and his associates insist on the necessity of the political and transformative role of the teacher. With Aronowitz, Giroux writes,

Education workers must take seriously the articulation of a morality that posits a language of public life, of emancipatory community, and individual and social commitment ... A discourse on morality is important ... it points to the need to educate students to fight and struggle in order to advance the discourse and principles of a critical democracy. (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991:108).

In this enterprise,

educators need to take up the task of redefining educational leadership through forms of social criticism, civic courage, and public engagement that allow them to expand oppositional space – both within and outside of school – which increasingly challenges the ideological representation and relations of power that undermine democratic public life. (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991: 89)

Giroux (1983a) sets out in more concrete terms what students need to actually learn. This embraces the active nature of students' participation in the learning process, teaching students to think critically, enabling students 'to appropriate their own histories, i.e. to delve into their own biographies and systems of meaning ... to authenticate their own experiences' (ibid: 203), to learn the social contest and uses of values, and, drawing on Gleeson and Whitty (1976), 'to learn about the structural and ideological forces that influence and restrict their lives' (Giroux, 1983a: 203). Giroux continues, 'inherent in Whitty's suggestion' is the proposal that 'students must be taught to act collectively to build political structures that can challenge the status quo (idem.).

The Voluntaristic Pluralist Model

To further the comparison of Giroux and the model of the critical utopian transformative intellectual, I now turn to aspects of the critical theory of the Madison School, posed variously by Kenneth Zeichner (writing alone and with Daniel Liston) and Tom Popkewitz.

Zeichner–Liston and Popkewitz differ from the Giroux–McLaren school of the 1990s and 90s in a number of respects. Firstly, they criticize Giroux's notion of teachers as organic intellectuals, and secondly, the fact that he has a predesigned political project, which denies the political and intellectual autonomy of students.

Popkewitz, with Zeichner, regard critical theorists such as Giroux as sustaining an essentially antipathetic relationship between:

1. political commitment and the pedagogy of a political project with prefigured aims on the one hand, and
 2. the democratic development of individual autonomy of the intellectual on the other.
- 'The engagement of the intellectual is continually juxtaposed with the struggle for autonomy' (Popkewitz, 1991: 241).

Popkewitz also opposes Giroux's concept of the 'transformative intellectual', and the form of 'popularist scholarship' that

accepts global dualisms between the oppressor and the oppressed ... asserting the researcher's direct attachment to ... oppositional social movements. The category of progressive is assigned to the practices associated with oppressed groups.' (Popkewitz, 1991: 231).

In addition, Zeichner and Liston also criticize Giroux–McLaren's particular overt political project and agenda. In their major article setting out the three levels of reflection, Liston and Zeichner suggest that 'in Giroux and McLaren's attempt to "politicise" schooling we feel they blur an essential distinction between the teacher as educator and the teacher as political activist' (Zeichner and Liston, 1987:25).

Zeichner and Liston emphasize, against Giroux and McLaren, that it,

is important to note that 'reflexive teaching' is not viewed as synonymous with any particular changes in teacher behaviours. The program seeks to help student teachers become more aware of themselves and their environments in a way that changes their perceptions of what is possible. The hope is that these expanded perceptions and an enhanced 'cultural literacy' (Bowers, 1990) will affect the degree of 'reflectiveness' expressed in student teacher actions, and that more reflective actions will lead to greater benefits for the teacher and for all of his or her pupils. (idem).

I now want to amplify these categorised differences between left educators, and in particular to examine the Zeichner and Giroux–McLaren argument, which, essentially, is about the role of teachers as 'transformative' intellectuals.

Liston and Zeichner do associate themselves with,

the important role for teacher education in efforts to bring about more emancipatory educational practices in our public schools believing that a more critically oriented approach to teacher education, in conjunction with other educational, political and economic reforms, could help to create a 'more democratic and just society. (Liston and Zeichner, 1987: 117–118).

But they 'caution against the portrayal of teachers as political activists within the classroom' (idem: 118). While they themselves 'have proposed reflective, critical, or emancipatory programs ... motivated by a specific desire to rectify social and educational inequality and injustice' (idem), they believe that, by definition, a reflective and critical approach to the moral education of teachers would,

recognize this plurality and enable future teachers to identify and choose between sufficiently articulated and reasonably distinct moral positions ... the goal of a reflective and critically oriented teacher education program is certainly not moral inculcation, but rather a reflective examination of educational goals and alternative course of action. (ibid: 121–2).

While they are 'highly cautious' about Giroux and McLaren's 'civic minded action within the classroom', Liston and Zeichner encourage it outside the classroom, believing that 'teacher education programs should begin to examine how the conditions of schooling and teachers' work inhibit prospective teachers' chosen goals' (ibid: 124–5). They argue for a much more aggressive political stance by teacher educators, *not* within classrooms but 'in relation to the organizations and agencies that allocate resources and rewards affecting teacher education programs' (ibid: 133–4), and 'in efforts to democratise schools that would give teachers and parents greater control over the school curriculum and school management' (ibid: 134). They *do* however agree, with Giroux (and McLaren and Aronowitz) that 'the social relations and pedagogical practices within programs need to reflect the emancipatory practices that teacher educators seek to establish in ... schools' (ibid: 133).

Liston and Zeichner locate themselves within 'the Radical Tradition in Teacher Education'. They share a set of commitments and common purposes which challenge dominant ideologies and practices in teacher education and 'have attempted to develop teacher education programs which are both critical and emancipatory' (ibid: 126–7; cf. Tabachnik and Zeichner, 1991; Liston and Zeichner, 1991). They note 'the variety of conceptual lenses and theoretical principles' within this radical view of teacher education (Liston and Zeichner, 1987: 127).

In their *Reflective Teaching: an Introduction* (1996), Zeichner and Liston determinedly avoid taking a position on critical reflection, offering it as one of a range of types of reflection only; there is absolutely no indication that this type of reflection should be privileged or pursued. They claim that teacher education 'needs to be fair and honest' and that 'we have not written these texts to convince you to see schools and society as we do but rather to engage you in a consideration of crucial issues' (1996: x).

They continue,

When students and faculty engage in discussions of the social and political conditions of schooling and the effects of these conditions on students and schools, it is likely that the talk will be lively and that controversies will emerge. In this area there are no absolutely 'right' or 'wrong' answers (1996: xi).

Certainly, none are given in the book. It is for that reason that in many respects, perhaps most, this tradition could be termed liberal-pluralist, albeit potentially of a progressive variety.

The Structuralist Reproductionist Transformative Model

In his earlier writing on the state and education, Kevin Harris (1979, 1982) applied the work by Althusser, Bowles and Gintis, and Bourdieu, as did Geoff Whitty's and Stuart Hall's structuralist neo-Marxism. Unlike Hall and Whitty, Harris still adopts (as do I in this thesis) 'a broad materialist position', perceiving that 'education is to be understood and determined by analyzing particular material contexts, and the interests and needs

involved therein ... economic determinants are regarded as the central and basic condition influencing practice' (Harris, 1994: 35). This is also the position adopted in his turn-of-the-millennium writing by McLaren, in his individual writing (1997b, 1998a, b, 2000) and that with Cole, Farahmandpur, Hill, and Rikowski (eg. Hill et al 1999, 2001; Cole et al, 2001; McLaren and Farahmandpur, 1999,2000,2001a,b,c).

Harris argues forcefully for teachers to act as organic intellectuals who

belong to and are connected with and come from within the ... class ... and the historical movement whose theoretic position they define and refine ... the theory they bear is thus illuminated by, and itself further illuminates, the experience and struggles of that ... class. (1994: 93–94).

Thus, they are identifiable not specifically by their 'theory', but 'by their actual function, along with their practical commitment, in leading and directing the political history of the class they organically belong to' (1994: 94). Teachers (and, I would add, teacher educators in particular, concerned as they are with the reproduction of the next generation of teachers) are well placed to use their 'agency in the key area of transmission of knowledge'. Harris continues,

While this agency is significantly maintained it thus remains possible for teachers to adopt the function of intellectuals (a possibility not extinguished by the structuralist framework of the argument in this book) (1994: 115).

In stressing the necessity for educators to be organic intellectuals, Harris sees Aronowitz and Giroux's concept of 'transformative intellectuals as 'simplistic' and 'naïve' (Harris, 1994: 92), verging on detachment.

John Smyth (1991) shows little sympathy with the pluralistic autonomistic stance of Zeichner and associates, and, like Harris (1994: 51–63) is far more cautious about the possibility of critical utopian transformative action by teachers as organic intellectuals.

Smyth argues that 'the reality of participative, locally based, and reflective approaches' is that

such local initiatives do not amount to a redistribution of power, but rather they constitute limited discretionary control over the implementation of decisions and directions determined centrally. Reflection then, becomes a means of focusing upon ends determined by others, not an active process of contesting, debating and determining the nature of those ends (Smyth, 1991: 12).

Certainly in Britain (as I argue in Chapter Nine and in Hill, 2001a, c), the scope for resistance, for the development and dissemination of oppositional practice is restricted, and Smyth seems correct in asserting the restricted effects likely to be achieved by local initiatives.

Smyth calls for teachers to

link consciousness about the processes that inform the day-to-day aspects of their teaching with the wider political and social realities ... [for] then they are able to transcend self-blame for things that don't work out and to see that perhaps their causation may more properly lie in the social and palpable injustices of society. (Smyth, 1991: 25).

However, and this is not a necessary component of a reproductive position, he is very wary, and dismissive of 'radical' discourse that emphasizes notions like 'emancipation' and other core concepts of contemporary radical discourse. He approves the view of Nash that

these concepts are *never* articulated in a concretely referenced discussion of political transformation tied to a realizable, local political programme, but just float airily serving perhaps as a rhetoric of inspiration for those so constituted to need it but devoid of any practical function. (idem, my italics).

This particular stance of Smyth's is unduly negative, and lends itself to a four-fold criticism of its main points, as follows:

1. A 'rhetoric of inspiration'

Although it can be easily over-emphasized (a point made in Cole and Hill, 1995), a rhetoric of inspiration does have a valuable function *per se* for any political/ ideological/ educational project, in engaging emotion and desire, in thrilling, in motivating. To say that ideology is related to the domain of the affective is to assert that ideology must be

understood as operating within a politics of feeling - 'structures of desire that both enable and constrain emancipatory struggle' (Giroux and McLaren, 1991: 190). Much of the 1990s writing by Peter McLaren and Henry Giroux discusses in detail these 'structures of desire' (cf. McLaren and Lankshear, 1994) and the link between the affective and cognitive domains of intellectual development. It is a commonplace of the political science analysis that the politics of charisma links excitement, feeling high, a pleasurable body state, the production of extra adrenalin - that is, the psychology and physiology of pleasure - with cognitive messages.

2. A rhetoric of popularisation

This has a valuable function in popularising, and thereby attracting and moving those particular audiences 'so constituted to need it', or so constituted as likely to develop a desire to need it. The Radical Right in Britain was successful through the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s under the Conservatives, and then under New Labour in the period 1997–2001 (as discussed in Chapters Two and Five) in using different levels of discourse: the *academic*, the *media*, (highbrow/ quality, middle brow, and popular), the *party political/ Ministerial*, and, qua the Chief Inspector of Schools, Chris Woodhead, the *official*, each reacting to and feeding on the other. These were deployed to popularise and disseminate the vocabulary and concepts of a discourse of derision, (about 'the Loony Left', schools, 'falling standards', 'cranky methods' 'teacher training'), together with the vocabulary and concepts of the Radical Right's own rhetoric of inspiration - particularly 'choice' and 'diversity' (e.g. with regard to New Labour's September 2001 White Paper *Schools Achieving Success* [DfES, 2001b]. See the *Daily Telegraph*, 2001 for its own comment on New Labour's discourse).

3. The linking of transformatory rhetoric to political programmes

Smyth may well be correct that 'such emancipatory concepts are frequently not tied to a realizable local political programme', and hence their value is very considerably limited. Yet to claim that they are '*never*' so articulated is either sloppy writing or sloppily under-informed, or the result of a particular set of unfortunate political experiences. The 'Keep Strong' movement and document of the Chicago Common Grand Network, *Keep Strong: Reform the Public Schools with R.E.S.P.E.C.T. - a plan to Reconstruct Education with Students, Parents, Educators and Community Together* (1987), influenced by Henry Giroux, is one example of Giroux linking theory with, and

popularising, a concrete local action and programme. Another example is Peter McLaren's involvement with Freirian pedagogy and educators (e.g. McLaren and Leonard, 1993; McLaren and Lankshear, 1994) and his involvement in political movements, such as his plenary speech to the Annual Conference of the Mexican Communist Party (8). However, the analysis of this thesis is that Smyth is correct in his point about the need to tie emancipatory concepts to a realizable political programme. (There are, of course, varying views about what is realizable, and about short-term and long-term plans) (9).

In addition to recognizably Radical Left national and local education policies, there are the efforts of thousands, or hundreds of thousands, of intellectuals, school teachers, teacher educators, radical school governors, political militants and activists, municipal socialists who have not only been inspired by emancipatory rhetoric, but who have collaborated in or developed and actually, in some cases, realized and effected a local political programme. Indeed, they have done this so effectively that in some cases the structures through which they worked were abolished or conformed - Conservative central government, for example, with the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority in 1990, and the reduction in powers of Local Education Authorities.

4. The validity of intellectualism

Statements by both Smyth and Nash consistently imply anti-intellectualism. This may stem from either a 'workerism' which not only privileges but over-privileges proletarianism in experience and expression, or simply from contact with intellectual vanguardists or other intellectuals who *do* float airily, wishing to critique and/or theorize without seeking an influence or part in a political project, i.e. without being public intellectuals. While the criticism by Smyth and Nash may well be valid in (very) many cases (particularly with respect to postmodern theorists), it does come close to the hypostatizing of intellectuals 'as ivory tower theorists, removed from the mundane concerns and exigencies of everyday life' (Giroux and McLaren, 1987:61).

New Labour and 'New Times' Criticisms of the Radical Left - and a Radical Left Response

I now wish now to examine an example of criticism of the Radical Left by New Labour. To do this, I will focus on the example of Jack Demaine's criticism of my own and of the Hillcole Group's proposals for a Radical Left policy for teacher education. This seems to me to typify New Labour opposition both to 'Old Labour' (the 'old social democrats such as Roy Hattersley) and to the Radical Left.

Demaine attacks my 'tone' in *What's Left in Teacher Education: The Radical Left and Policy Proposals* (Hill, 1991a), and my 'periodic bursts of radicalistic rhetoric' (Demaine, 1995: 184idem. In this, Demaine comes close to John Smyth's concerns (in a different context) over the impractical rhetoric of speech and writing, the 'unrealizable rhetorics of inspiration'. The empirical link between transformatory rhetoric and actual political programmes shown above is a relevant response to this point.

Beyond this, there are five main points raised by Demaine about Hillcole Group publications on teacher education (and three of my own publications: Hill, 1991a, 1991b, 1993a). Since they indicate the contention I am defining, I set them out below with responses to each:

1. 'it is difficult to see Hill or the Hillcole Group as particularly left wing or 'radical' (Demaine, 1995:184). As I have shown, a number of principles differentiate a Radical Left project from a social democratic/ Blairite project. *Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3* of this chapter make extremely clear what Radical Left principles are for Initial Teacher Education and for education in general. Moreover, *Table 6.3* shows the contrast of the Radical Left not only with New Labour ideological principles, but the distance of both from social democracy. The Radical Left is not social democratic, and neither is New Labour. The principles of the two Hillcole Group books (Hillcole Group, 1991, 1997) align with Radical Left rather than social democratic principles. An exception is *Whose Teachers? A Radical Manifesto* (Hillcole Group, 1993b), the publication I disavowed in the closing sentence of Chapter Four as failing 'to go much beyond a defence of and rationale for the *status quo ante* 1992/1993'. What is distinctive about the two Hillcole books, on the contrary, is that they do extend, in a socialist direction, beyond the *status*

quo ante of 1992/93 in respect of teacher education. Indeed, they extend beyond all education legislation whether of Labour, New Labour or Conservative governments.

2. 'it is questionable whether, in the present climate, the label 'radical left' is at all helpful' (idem); 3. 'Socialists who are serious about attempting to contribute to New Labour policy will do so only if they learn to speak its language' (ibid:185); and 4. 'recognize the seriousness of Blair's project' (idem). In Demaine's second, third and fourth points he is suggesting that socialists/ the Radical Left should fall in behind the Blairite agenda, both in its policy terms and its discourse/ language. However, this would be 'to vacate the cultural battlefield'. Part of any cultural battle is the battle over linguistic and other symbols, a battle to propagandize, proselytize and perpetuate concepts such as 'equality', 'left' and 'radical' through language and accompanying policy proposals. This cultural conflict is not only between Radical Left, Centrist and Radical Right ideologies nationally and globally - it is also, in Britain, a struggle within the Labour Party. For teacher educators and teachers to function as organic critical transformative intellectuals requires forcible combat in the rescuing and advancement and clarification of specific Radical Left language and terminology, such as 'equality of outcome' and 'anti-racism' and 'structural discrimination' and capitalist exploitation', not a submissive acquiescence in the current dominant political ideology.

5. 'there is little point in the Hillcole Group acting as a left-wing mirror to the right-wing Hillgate Group. The significance of the Hillgate Group lies not in its pamphlets but in the influence members of their group have within the Tory party and within Conservative Governments' (Demaine, 1995:184). Demaine's fifth point has some validity. However, I would suggest that the significance of the radical right Hillgate Group lay both in its members' influence within Party and Government, and in its pamphlets. The Hillcole Group is not particularly successful on either count (personal influence or influence of its pamphlets/ books on the Labour Party nationally) (10). There is a limited success thus far for the Radical Left, but, into the second term of a New Labour government, who is to say that the Group, and/or similar Radical Left groups such as the Socialist Teachers' Alliance, or educationalists within the Socialist Movement, and/or regional Socialist Alliances may not, at some stage, be far more successful on both counts?

The Radical Left does not agree to keep silent and invisible in what is seen as the battle for the soul and programme of the Labour Party. As Tony Benn (1995) has written, there will come a time when,

after the (1997) election ... the high expectations ... are bound to be disappointed ... the media ... call for a national government ... it is at this moment that the Labour Party and the public will turn to the Left for an alternative, and if we are not there when that demand occurs, people could turn further and further to the right ... This is when all socialists and democrats and radicals and individual trade unionists should join the party and be active in it. (Benn, 1995).

Notes

1. See Paula Allman (2000:Chapter 1) for a discussion of different types of equality. See also Hill and Cole (1999b, 2001b). Scotland has raised the academic attainment of both working-class and middle-class children while at the same time narrowing the differentials and indeed eradicating the gaps in attainment with respect to ethnicity and also gender.
2. Ultimately this is dependent on the replacement of capitalism by socialism.
3. They develop this at length, in Popkewitz and Fendler (1999) in particular pp.45–56.
4. It also needs recognizing that the National Curriculum, in many schools, has the positive effect of increasing the amount of collaborative curriculum planning and evaluation across year groups and across the school, particularly at Primary but also at Secondary level. I also argue (Hill, 1997a, 2001d) that its introduction has had some positive impact on equal opportunities, in particular with respect to gender.
5. Marxist and socialist arguments and policies in the UK are published, *inter alia*, by the Socialist Teachers Association, and by the Hillcole Group of Radical Left Educators. Some examples are Hillcole Group (1991, 1997); Cole, Hill and Shan (1997); Hill and Cole (1999), and regular articles in *Forum for comprehensive Education*, *Socialist Teacher*, *Education and Social Justice*. These are in addition to articles in the more general Left press such as *Tribune*, *Red Pepper*, *The Socialist*, *Socialist Organizer*, *Socialist Worker* and *Socialist Outlook*. Furthermore, some articles in *Multicultural Teaching*, *Education for Today and Tomorrow*, and, very occasionally, the *Guardian*, *Observer* and *New Statesman and Society* also set out Radical Left policy for education.
6. As indicated at the start of this chapter, Chapters Seven and Nine engage in a detailed summary and evaluation of contemporary theory, including structuralist Marxism, structuralist neo-Marxism and postmodernism. With respect to education, culturalist neo-Marxists of the 1980s engaged in a systematic critique of structuralist neo-Marxism. See, in particular, Apple (1982); Giroux (1983b); Cole (ed.) (1988); Liston (1988) and Whitty (1985).
7. Within the British educational context, similar critiques of pluralism can be made about multi-culturalism as opposed to anti-racism, an argument I develop in Chapter Two of Hessari and Hill (1989) (though regrettably not in the chapters developing classroom activities), and one made, for example, by the Inner London Education Authority (1983) and by Cole (1986, 1992a, 1996b, 1997, 1998b, c).
Postmodernist analysis of and proposals for education, for example the postmodernist emphasis on 'difference' (sic) and plurality of 'voices' are criticized from a Marxist perspective in Chapters Seven and Nine of this thesis. See also Hill (1993d, f), Apple (1993b), Sarup (1993), Green (1994), Hill and Cole (1995; 1996), Cole and Hill (1995; 1996a; b), Rikowski (1996), Cole, Hill and Rikowski (1997), Hill, McLaren, Cole and Rikowski, (1999, 2001); McLaren and Farahmandpur (2000); Cole, Hill, McLaren and Rikowski (2001); McLaren, Cole, Hill and Rikowski (2001).
8. Giroux acted as advisor and worked with the movement producing the *Keep Strong* document. The political biographies of various members of the Hillcole Group of Radical Left Educators evidence practical involvement in the Trade Union and labour Movement. The date of McLaren's speech was 2000. The life of Caroline Benn is a supreme example in Britain of a socialist educational analysis being organically combined with political

activism. Her testimony in the form of her last speech to the Hillcole Group of Radical Left Educators in October 1999 is printed in Benn (2001). Among the many eulogies is that by the Hillcole Group on <www.ieps.org.uk>.

9. There are many examples of emancipatory and mobilizing concepts of radical discourse being articulated in a concretely referenced discussion of political transformation, tied to a realizable local political programme. Some examples are *Improving Secondary Schools* (The Hargreaves Report) (ILEA, 1984) and *Improving Primary Schools* (The Thomas Report) (ILEA, 1985), the two major reports by the Inner London Education Authority aimed at combating under-achievement by working-class children. Other examples, internationally, are various of the anti-elitist, anti-hierarchical education reforms of the 1974–1976 Portuguese Revolutionary Governments (Stoer, 1986; Benavente, 1990) (informed and influenced not least by educators such as Paolo Freire); the education policy of SWAPO in Namibia, and the Initial Education reform following the 1917 Russian Revolution. At a very much more local and limited level, at a minuscule level, my activities as a Labour Group Leader on a County Council between 1983–87 both inside and outside the Council chamber (such as organizing an anti-cuts movement, demonstrations and rallies - one of 3,000 people), were an attempt to influence national Labour Party policy (Hill 1984, 1985, 1986).

10. There was not, of course, a Labour Government to influence between 1979 and 1997. The influence of the Hillcole Group on the Labour Party was minimal and is now probably non-existent. However, as a group it did advise on ITE policy prior to the 1992 General Election, and was involved (through its members) in giving advice on ITE during 1995. In December 1995, I participated in a Labour Party Invitation Seminar on Teacher Education, along with 3 MPs and five other teacher educators, (Ivan Reid, Richard Foster, Ian Kane, Maurice Craft, Linda Rudge), also various MPs' researchers. This meeting was one of two called by the Labour front bench spokesperson on higher education, Bryan Davies MP. A very small number of MPs have contacted the group for copies of the booklets and books published. Its aims are to influence Party policy directly, but also indirectly, through influencing the wider Labour movement (see Hill, 1991b, 1993e; Benn and Cole, 1994; Hillcole Group, 1994). The Hillcole Group does, though, have an influence, as reflected in citations of its publications both nationally and internationally, and through two websites that attract numerous 'hits' – the Tufnell Press website, <<http://www.tufnellpress.co.uk>> and the website of the Institute for Education Policy Studies (IEPS), <<http://www.ieps.org.uk>>. The IEPS website contains an analytical history of the Hillcole Group in the Hillcole Group's tribute to the late Caroline Benn.

Chapter Seven

MAKING SENSE OF CHANGES: TEACHER EDUCATION POLICY AND CONTEMPORARY THEORY

So far, I have identified the major ideological positions associated with education policy, as it has developed in England and Wales since 1979. I have sustained a particular focus on the *restructuring* of Initial Teacher Education and the role assigned to critical reflection. The purpose of this Chapter is to assess the validity of contemporary theory in offering explanations for this restructuring.

Part One: Changes to Education and Initial Teacher Education and the Challenge to Theory

Hegemonic Projects

The restructuring of ITE and other sectors of education in England and Wales from 1979 to 2001, plus the attacks on 'critical reflection' and on 'situational/contextual reflection', have been described by Michael Apple and others as integral to 'the conservative restoration' (1). This encompasses a supposed return to Victorian personal morality and virtues. However, within the latest stage of capitalism, the state itself has been restructured, into a *contracting state*. This involves the two aspects of concentrating power to the centre, and contracting (i.e. franchising) as a mode of operation (Ainley and Vickerstaff, 1993).

As part of the contemporary project of the Radical Right in Britain and elsewhere, the 'conservative restoration' is conceptualised by critics as a *two-nation hegemonic project* (Hall, 1983; Gamble, 1983; Jessop, 1990, Ainley, 1999, 2000, Brady and Thorpe, 2000). This refers to the strategy by which Conservative governments (such as the British Conservative governments of 1979 to 1997) attempt to best meet what they see as the economic and associated ideological/ cultural requirements of the latest stage of capitalism (2).

In education policy, the Conservative Governments of 1979 to 1987 re-formed and ideologically re-oriented schools and ITE, directing them away from supporting *one-nation* attitudes and policies and toward supporting the *two-nation* hegemonic project. This new focus openly benefits those characterized as deserving strivers and achievers, while punishing, and policing, those characterized as the undeserving poor and non-conformers, the so-called 'underclass' (3), the socially excluded.

In contrast, the earlier *one-nation hegemonic projects* of British governments during the 1960s and 1970s were typified by welfarist, corporatist, socio-economic and fiscal policies, supported by one-nation ideology and rhetoric. In the 1960s 'education for education's sake' was widely supported; it was for 'the full flowering of the individual'. As described in Chapter Four, education was seen, by liberal progressives, as 'innately good', and by social democrats as serving a social justice and social cohesion function

The 1960s were a time when capital accumulation and profits were such that governments and dominant fractions of capital were able to permit more egalitarian, welfarist, and less obviously economically determined schooling and teacher education. There is a distinction to be made here between the Conservative governments 1979–97 and the 'one nation' social democratic Labour governments of the 1940s into the 1970s.

There is also a distinction, set out in Chapter Five, between the Conservatives and New Labour. Conservative government and think-tank policy and discourse drew, with very rare exceptions, on unmitigated two-nation rhetoric. The poor got poorer, the excluded got vilified, their benefits cut or withdrawn.

Since its election in 1997, New Labour rhetoric in education, as in wider policy areas, has espoused a socially inclusive *one-nation* rhetoric. This, however, exists alongside and is contradicted by a *two-nation* moral authoritarian, exclusivist rhetoric, geared to reincorporating *some* of the socially excluded (the deserving poor) into the one-(deserving)-nation. At the same time, however, it vilifies the others, 'the undeserving poor', those who refuse, or fail to climb out of their social exclusionary status. These contradictory discourses are matched in the policy arena by an *overall* adherence to, a continuation and a deepening of neo-liberal (and neo-Conservative) education policies, based on a regime of low public expenditure and privatisation, that are essentially competitive, selective, divisive, hierarchical and elitist (see Hill, 1999a; 2000a, b, c; 2001a, b, c, d, e; 2002a).

Hierarchical differentiation is both reflected in and reproduced by the differentiated tripartite schooling system of private, opted out, and working class local council/ authority schools (Simon, 1987, 1992; Chitty, 1989; Ball, 1990a; Dale, 1989a, b; Hillcole, Group 1991, 1993). Indeed, differentiation facilitated and spurred on by the publication of test/ SATs/ GCSE results, also occurs *within* these sectors, as noted by Ball, Bowe and Gewirtz (1994); Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe (1995); Hill (1997a, 2001d); Whitty, Power and Halpin (1998), Lauder *et al* (1999), Thrupp (1999, 2000), Ahonen (2000), Gillborn and Youdell (2000), Fecho, (2001).

This differentiation may well be formally replicated in higher education and in teacher education. The turn-of-the-millennium differentiation between Oxbridge and the elite 'Russell Group' of universities, the other 'old' universities; the 'new' (i.e. ex-Polytechnic) universities and the institutes/colleges of higher education is to be formalized. Elite universities are to be allowed to charge higher fees than others, and a two-year degree is to be introduced (DfEE, 2000b). Similarly, the August 2000 release of evaluation data about 'teacher training' courses shows a clear hierarchy in the league tables for teacher training. The 'Russell Group' and 'old' universities, together with, some school-based schemes, score highly on a combination of Ofsted Reports, high course-entry requirements and subsequent employment as teachers. Seventeen of the 'top' scoring HEI ITE providers were from the 'old' universities. This is in contrast with the 'new' University and ITE HEIs with more working-class and minority ethnic group intake,

which filled the 'bottom' twenty places in the table (see *Guardian*, 2000; Judd, 2000; O'Leary, 2000).

Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses in Schooling and Initial Teacher Education

Dale observes how the State reformulation of education policy since the 1970s has involved not merely the promotion of particular values, but also the exclusion of others:

there is a qualitative change in the nature of control over the education system ... there is a change in the core problems of the State, bringing about a tighter - and quite possibly different - specification of the requirements of each of the state apparatuses, and the necessity, following the re-specification, of attempting to curtail all state activity which now appears to be irrelevant or non-effective. (Dale, 1989a: 38)

Changes to Initial Teacher Education, and education more widely, have been effected through the *repressive* as well as *ideological* means available to the State (see Althusser, 1971; Poulantzas, 1972; Hill, 1989, 1990a). Althusser argues that the ideological dominance of the ruling class is, like its political dominance, secured in and through definite institutional forms and practices: the ideological apparatuses of the state. As Althusser suggests, *every Ideological State Apparatus is also in part a Repressive State Apparatus*, punishing those who dissent:

There is no such thing as a purely ideological apparatus ... Schools and Churches use suitable methods of punishment, expulsion, selection etc., to 'discipline' not only their shepherds, but also their flocks. (Althusser, 1971: 138)

Ideological State Apparatuses have internal 'coercive' practices (for example, forms of punishment, non-promotion, displacement, being 'out-of-favour'). Similarly, *Repressive State Apparatuses* attempt to secure significant internal unity and wider social authority through ideology (for example, through their ideologies of patriotism and national integrity). Every *Repressive State Apparatus* therefore has an ideological moment, propagating a version of common sense and attempting to legitimate it under threat of sanction. For example, by means of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher

Education (CATE) and the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) circulars and Education Acts, higher education institutions (HEIs) and education departments/ faculties can now have their resources reduced, their staff contracted and their specialisations (in 'race', social class, gender, disability, sexuality) thereby altered. Oppositional teachers and teacher educators can lose heart and lose pay; schools and HEIs can lose pupils/students and therefore income and therefore teachers'/lecturers' jobs; their successors are likely to be appointed because they are 'covered in chalk dust' and National Curriculum expertise, rather than equal opportunities policies. (Maguire, 1993).

For Althusser, the difference between an ideological and a repressive apparatus of state is one of degree, a matter of whether force or idea predominates in the functioning of particular apparatus (see Benton 1984: 101–102). It is a matter of debate as to whether Ofsted and the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) are primarily ideological or repressive state apparatuses.

Between 1979 and 2000, the *relative autonomy* of state apparatuses - such as schools, ITE providers, further education colleges and Universities - has diminished remarkably. This is despite the increased autonomy apparently deriving from deregulation (as, for example with 'self-governing' Universities, hospitals and schools). On the one hand, local authority-run and (formerly) opted-out schools are largely self-regulating since the (Conservative) 1988 Education Reform Act and the (New Labour) 1998 School Standards and Framework Act, under Local Financial Management, and Local Management of Schools. Also, the ability of schools, in effect, to choose their pupils, suggests increased autonomy. Yet on the other hand, this deregulation includes hugely increased surveillance and control mechanisms - for example, compulsory and nationally monitored assessments, publication of performance league tables and a policy emphasis on closing or privatising 'failing' schools and LEAs (for detail, see Hill, 1999a; 2001a). Never have ITE providers been subject to such rigorous surveillance and control as they are in this century (Jeffrey and Woods, 1998; Woods and Jeffrey, 1998).

Policy has attempted to 'conform' both the *existing* teacher workforce and the *future* teacher workforce (i.e. student teachers) by various means. Alongside legislation and statutory circulars - such as the Education Reform Act of 1988, the 1994 Education Act

(setting up the Teacher Training Agency) and the various requirements for Initial Teacher Education - there has been:

1. a discourse of sustained criticism, under both Conservative and New Labour governments, of 'trendy' and 'politically correct' liberal-progressive and socialist-egalitarian forms of schooling, teacher education (e.g. Blunkett, 1999; Woodhead, 1999) and of education research. (See Ball, 2001 for the discourse of derision concerning educational research, and the comments in Chapter Two of this thesis). Such criticism is also directed at academic disciplines such as sociology and the education studies with which they are associated. For Whitty, 'both state and market forces imply a "low trust" relationship between society and its teachers', with a resulting denigration of professional autonomy. (Whitty, 1997: 307);
- 2). sustained ministerial and media 'spinning', with slanted presentation of government advisory reports such as the HMI and Ofsted *New Teacher in School* reports of 1988 and 1993 respectively. (HMI, 1988; Ofsted, 1993; Blake and Hill, 1995);
- 3). the weakening of teachers' union power, the diminution of their national pay, conditions and negotiating arrangements;
- 4). the diminution of the 'core' of full-time teachers on permanent contracts and the accompanying increase of the 'peripheral' teachers on part-time and short-term contracts, and the forthcoming stratification of the teaching force through the introduction of different pay scales and Performance Related Pay (Ainley, 1999; Allen, 1999; Chitty and Dunford, 2000);
- 5). the abolition of corporatist arrangements with a majority of teacher union members, such as the Schools Council, which endorsed and prioritised the input of teachers' unions and representatives to curriculum developments, *pace* New Labour's setting up of a General Teaching Council - a body with less powers and little intended corporatism;
- 6). the substantial control of teachers' work via the selection of educational content through the National Curriculum and its associated publishable assessment results. This is even more apparent under New Labour with the heavily prescriptive 'Literacy Hour' and 'Numeracy Hour' in Primary schools. It also applies to the ever more prescriptive 'national curriculum for teacher training', with its very tightly prescribed 'standards' under the Circular 4/98 (DfEE, 1998a). These intensified the regulation of ITE 'standards' (to be attained prior to Qualified Teacher Status) by the criteria of Circular 9/92 (DFE,

1992a) and Circular 14/93 (DFE, 1993a). They also followed, in most respects, the Conservative government criteria and pre-election proposals in 1997 (TTA, 1997a);

7). the prescription of curriculum content has been accompanied by a virtual exclusion of the study of equal opportunities issues, and of the sociological, political and psychological aspects and contexts of learning, teaching and schooling. As described in Chapters One and Four of this thesis, spaces for the development of 'critical reflection' have been virtually squeezed out, a development exacerbated by the partial replacement of four-year by three-year and other, shorter, undergraduate ITE courses;

8). the insistence on subject, as opposed to topic-based, inter-disciplinary Primary curriculum (DFE, 1993e). New Labour has extended this pedagogical control by insisting that unless mixed-ability methods are being markedly successful in a particular school, then the setting of children by ability should become the norm (see Woods and Jeffrey, 1998; The Government, 1999: 10);

9). the increased managerialisation of schooling and intensification of teachers' work, with 'teachers ... driven to burnout'. (Whitty, 1997: 305). School managements increasingly insist that teachers concentrate primarily on improving pupils' National Curriculum standardized test results, in particular GCSE results at grades A to C. This is because, through competitive open enrolment and through the age related per capita funding of schools by the 1988 Education Reform Act, schools can lose numbers, income, and thereby staff, if their test results appear poor in relation to competitor schools. (In a sense, with local and national league tables of test results, school scandal has been institutionalised. Social panic can be readily and annually whipped up over disparities in raw results. Teachers know that in many schools promotions will be more readily geared than in the past to their ability and willingness to concentrate on this one aspect of schooling - children's test results).

10). the proletarianisation of teachers in schools and teacher education (Braverman, 1974; Harris, 1982, 1994; Carlson, 1987; Maguire, 1993; Ainley, 1994, 2000; Hatcher, 1994b; Allen et al. 1999). The autonomy of teachers and teacher educators has been drastically reduced by the deluge of instructions and rapidly changing National Curriculum requirements about Programmes of Study, a process regularly lampooned through the nineteen-nineties on the back page of the *Times Educational Supplement* by Ted Wragg (e.g. Wragg, 1991, 1992, 1993).

So far as Initial Teacher Education is concerned, the TTA and CATE requirements ensure that student teacher courses are heavily geared towards the National Curriculum. Conversely, the existence of the National Curriculum has changed the nature of work-life and values within schools, so that student teachers on teaching practices witness and experience declining teacher autonomy, greater teacher accountability, and greater managerialisation and stratification as part of their introduction to the teaching profession.

Thus, the work of teachers and teacher educators is not only controlled by legislation but also takes place within a particular ideological context. In keeping with Althusser's notion of the sanction involved in repressive-ideological control, two major ideological discourses of the Radical Right can be identified, in attempts to *conform* teachers and teacher educators. These are the '*discourse of derision*' (Ball, 1990b; Wallace, 1993), and the '*discourse of treachery*', whereby oppositional personnel such as teachers, or teacher educators, or HMI, together with their institutional structures - such as the DES and ITE - are vilified as 'the enemy within ... betraying the economic and/or cultural and/or racial interests of the country/nation' (Hill, 1993d). As discursive forms of sanction, these align with the wider stigmatization of social, professional or interest groups which oppose the conservative project of the former Conservative and the current New Labour governments. They are therefore denigrated as immoral and/or irrational, 'politically correct', the 'loony left', or motivated by 'producer self-interest'. And these discursive forms of sanction are reflected in the existence, and threat, of material sanction - harassment, redundancy and unemployment (4).

The Importance of Teachers and Teacher Educators

Both Conservative and New Labour governments have attempted to 'conform' both the *existing* teacher workforce and the *future* teacher workforce (i.e. student teachers) and *their* teachers, the reproducers of teachers - the teacher educators. Why conform the teachers and the teacher educators at all? Like poets, teachers are potentially dangerous. But poets are fewer and reading poetry is voluntary. Schooling is not. Teachers' work is *the production and reproduction of knowledge, attitudes and ideology* (Althusser, 1971;

Harris, *passim*; Apple, 1979; Ainley, 2000). Rikowski, in a Marxist analysis of 'labour power', suggests that

teachers are the most dangerous of workers because they have a special role in shaping, developing and forcing the single commodity on which the whole capitalist system rests: labour-power. Teachers are dangerous because they are intimately connected with the social production of labour-power, equipping students with skills, competencies, abilities, knowledge and the attitudes and personal qualities that can be expressed and expended in the capitalist labour process. The pressure is on teachers and trainers to continually produce students with ever higher quality labour-powers. The State needs to control the process, therefore, for two reasons. First to try to ensure that this occurs. Secondly, to try to ensure that modes of pedagogy that are antithetical to labour-power production do not and cannot exist. In particular, it becomes clear, on this analysis, that the capitalist State will seek to destroy any forms of pedagogy that attempt to educate students regarding their real predicament – to create an awareness of themselves as future labour-powers and to underpin this awareness with critical insight that seeks to undermine the smooth running of the social production of labour. (Rikowski, 2000c, personal communication, cited in Hill, 2001a: 149–150. See also Rikowski, 1996, 1997, 2000a, b; 2001a, b, e; Fielding and Rikowski, 1997).

Successive government 'reforms' of both the work of teachers and ITE are an attempt to control and 'mould' new teachers and student teachers, to prepare them for what governments have seen as the task of the economic, ideological, and cultural (re-) production of future generations of labour power, cohorts of workers, citizens. To some extent teachers are, like doctors, relatively socially prestigious, and have some power individually and collectively to legitimate or de-legitimate the current hegemonic project of capital. They also have the power of effective organized resistance (through their trade unions and quasi-unions) to government policy. Moreover, teachers are not widely perceived to be state functionaries, and may for this reason be attributed with extensive critical power.

Global Capitalism, Neo-liberalism and the Restructuring of Education

James Callaghan's Ruskin Speech of 1976 is now seen as marking the change in approach. Sustained by both Conservative and 'New Labour' governments and parties, it linked education and ITE to the development of human capital to service the national

economy in a globally competitive economy. It is also apparent that the international economic crisis of the early and mid 1970s, and the emergence of various Pacific rim states as highly competitive 'tiger economies' during the 1980s and 1990s (albeit ones characterized at the turn of the twenty-first century by economic crisis), and the dominance of multinational capital (Cole, 1998a; McMurtry, 1999), have resulted in declining capital accumulation within Western economies.

The current neo-liberal project of global capitalism provides the big picture informing local change: markets in education, so-called 'parental choice' of a diverse range of schools, are only one small part of the capitalist class's educational strategy, its Business Plan for Education and its Business Plan in Education. (Hatcher, 2000a. See also Molnar, 1996, 1999, 2000a, b; Hill, 2000a, 2001b).

The bigger picture, as I argue in Chapter Nine, enables us to develop an overall understanding of how the move towards markets in education relates to the overall intentions and project of transnational multinational capital and of the policies that governments try to put into practice on their behalf. The big picture enables us to see, with McLaren, that 'as it stands, the major purpose of education is to make the world safe for global capitalism'. (2000: 196).

John McMurtry's *The Cancer Stage of Capitalism* (1999) describes '*The Pathologization of the Market Model*' (1999: Chapter Two). McMurtry states that to argue for a 'free market' in anything these days is a delusion: the 'market model' that we have today is really the system that benefits the 'global corporate market' - a system where the rules are rigged to favour huge multinational and transnational corporations that take over, destroy or incorporate (hence the 'cancer' stage of capitalism) the small businesses, innovators, etc. that as potential competitors can be used to augment the bloated multinational's performance. Thus, opening education to the market, in the long run, will open it to the corporate giants - who will run it in their own interests. Rikowski (2000/2001; 2001a, d) argues that the WTO is setting this agenda up in education across the globe.

Why should the State restructuring of education (identified by Dale) and, in particular ITE and schooling, have taken this particular course since the late 1970s?

In response to the declining profitability of British capital within this increasingly competitive and deregulated international economy, the *logic of capital* has required that education and training systems should, a) be geared more directly to the perceived vocational and economic imperatives of national capital, and b) provide ideological support for the restructuring of the British state - the economy, polity and society - in accordance with the needs of British capital (Green, 1997; Cole, 1998a; Hill, 2001a, b). Integral to this response is the sustained restructuring of the schooling and teacher education system in England and Wales to effect what Ainley (1993, 1994) describes as a divide and rule strategy, aimed at producing a 'certified society' as opposed to a 'learning society'. (5).

Conservative government changes to schooling since 1979, and to ITE in the period 1984–1997, under both the Thatcher and Major governments, showed direct relation to international economic competition in their chosen strategy of attempting to create a low-wage, low-skill, neo-Fordist (Brown and Lauder, 1997) offshore economy with increased levels of social and academic *differentiation*. New Labour appears to be continuing a *neo-liberal* competition/low public expenditure policy aimed at creating a modernised high-tech, 'post-Fordist' 'fast capitalist' economy (Rikowski, 1999a; Neary and Rikowski, 2000). Indeed, 'Britain under the Labour government has gone further than any other European country in adopting and implementing' the transnational business project for education generated and disseminated through key organizations of the international economic and political elite such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (Hatcher, 2000a: 1. See also Hatcher and Hirtt, 1999; Hatcher, 2001; Hill, 2000a, 2001b).

So far, I have concentrated on the policy and methods of the state over the past twenty years, and referred to some of the recognized effects on schools, ITE and the education system as a whole in England and Wales. I began this chapter by describing the neo-Marxist concept of the 'two-nation hegemonic project' of contemporary capitalism, but how does other current theory account for these changes, and for responses to them? Are teachers conceived as capable of resisting the demands of politicians, or the impact of institutional coercion?

The concept of teacher agency is directly linked to the wider conceptualisation of policy process and relative autonomy within the state.

Part Two: The Policy Process and Theories of Relative Autonomy

Articulations and Disarticulations in the Policy Process

If the evaluation of state education policy is to extend from formulation through to the process of implementation in educational contexts, then there are various questions to be asked of theories that recognize the impact of relative autonomy, both within the state and within institutional contexts of policy production and implementation. For this chapter, the most significant of these questions concern the degree of autonomy of the state from capital, and of the government from the state, and how much autonomy there is within and between state apparatuses at their various levels.

Immediately, it should be stated that schools and teacher education institutions and their staff at various levels do possess a degree of relative autonomy - from the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) and the Teacher Training Agency (TTA). This is due to the fact that there are some contradictions in government policy, discontinuities in micro-policy, disarticulations between the vertical and horizontal levels of Government (Offe, 1975; Therborn, 1978). This applies to the apparatuses of the education system. Thus there are some contradictions and disarticulations in any education policy. This is so whether it is the policy for Initial Teacher Education 1984–1996, the Assisted Places Scheme, any particular aspect of the operationalising of the 1988 Education Reform Act (such as Local Management of Schools or Opting Out/ Grant Maintained Status), or whether it is the 'race'-education policy in education generally, or in 'race'-education policy in ITE, as discussed, for example, in Gabe (1994) (Gabe's analysis is critiqued below, and in Hill and Cole, 1995).

In addition, there is occasional Ministerial backtracking on certain aspects of schools policy, also internal inconsistency, competing claims, micro-and mass-political, ideological and economic considerations, short-term crisis management, long-term crisis management, *refraction* (Freeland, cited in Whitty, 1985: 94), *filtering* (Offe, 1975) and

resistance (e.g. Freeland, 1979; Giroux, 1983a, b; 1988a, b). These can modify, qualify, disrupt, colonise, or accommodate the policy requirements of national and local government.

Such discontinuities in policy implementation are typically recognized by state theories and analyses of the policy process. These explanatory theories include the following: systemic analyses of the policy process (e.g. Easton, 1953; 1965; Ham and Hill, 1993), managerialist approaches to education policy analysis which focus on education administration; evaluations of organizational reform, management improvement and policy improvement; biographical studies of participants in the education policy process (Graham, 1993; Thatcher 1993); macro-level commentaries and analyses of the education policy in general in Thatcherite Britain (Chitty, 1989; Jones, 1989; Knight, 1990; Ainley, 1999, 2000); also, individual case studies of policy, whether from a culturalist neo-Marxist perspective (Apple, *passim*, Whitty, 1985; Whitty and Menter, 1989) or from a quasi-postmodernist perspective (Ball, 1990b, 1998; Bowe and Ball with Gold, 1992).

Despite varying methodologies, concepts and evaluations, all of these highlight the non-linear nature, a degree of messiness, the existence of modifications and resistances to policy implementation.

Yet beyond this element of derived and uncertain autonomy, it remains necessary for contemporary state theory to answer the larger questions of whether teachers and lecturers can exercise direct and unequivocal agency within educational contexts, and how much freedom they have for counter-hegemonic, radical or indeed revolutionary action. A key feature of the various state theories is their depiction of the nature and degree of power attributed to the state. The reciprocal feature is the degree of relative autonomy attributed by the various state theories to actors and structures and the political region of the state (in terms of its autonomy from the economic region of the state). Across their different concerns and principles of analysis, these state theories differ in the structure–agency dynamic, the dynamic in which the more salience is given to the overall unity of state apparatuses such as the education system as a whole and its components (such as ITE, HEIs and departments of education), the less salience is given to their autonomy. This dynamic has clear implications for the nature and role of

resistance and the effectiveness of human agency in challenging and transforming policy (here, the policy of re-structuring the domestic system of education).

In the remainder of this chapter, I will concentrate on comparative assessments of five types of state theory: state autonomy theory, postmodernism, quasi-postmodernism, culturalist neo-Marxism and structuralist neo-Marxism. In defining the relative autonomy of the state, these five theories vary in the degree of significance they attach to the role of economic imperatives in the formulation and implementation of state policy. I will therefore focus the following analysis on the negotiation of economic factors in relation to the autonomy of the state from capital, as well as from government and other UK state institutions.

State Autonomy Theory and Education

State autonomy theorists argue that the state is a real and independent factor in social and political analysis. For Theda Skocpol, the state is 'an autonomous structure - a structure with a logic and interests of its own, not necessarily equivalent to, or fused with, the interests of the dominant class in society or the full set of member groups in the polity'. (1979: 27). She concludes that 'changes in state structures [cannot] be explained primarily in terms of class conflicts'. (ibid: 284).

Jessop (1990) sees Skocpol's work as reflecting the 'societal' approach to the state, associated with orthodox American social scientists and incorporating the twin strands of structural-functionalism and pluralism (ibid: 278–306). Analysts such as Skocpol argue that the state is endowed with a real and important autonomy vis-à-vis all pressures and forces located in civil society.

Skocpol's theoretical negotiation of economic imperatives recognizes that within the state 'fundamental conflicts of interest might arise between the existing dominant class, or set of groups, on the one hand, and the state rulers on the other', yet still asserts the autonomy of the state from capital (Skocpol, 1979, quoted in Miliband, 1983: 60). Here, the conclusion typifies various state-centred, structural-functionalist theories in posing the state as a force in its own right and excluding the dynamic of the economy and/or

civil society. However, theorists such as Hindess and Hirst (1977), who also argue that the political region of the state is autonomous from the economic, and that the state apparatus is autonomous from the logic of capital, extend the concept to argue that the political region of the state can determine the economic form, due to a reciprocity of effect between the economic and the political.

The pluralist perspective of power and policy emphasizes the autonomy of state apparatuses and agencies, but also attributes a high degree of autonomy to individual agencies, so that power is distributed between centres of decision making, each with significant autonomy and control of resources. The pluralist state is a highly differentiated mosaic, open to the influence of voters and diverse groups that compete for influence on governmental decisions. Otherwise, the boundaries of state action in society are defined by the presence of a consensual value system (Ranson, 1995: 429). In relation to education, Kogan refers to the 'pluralistic' distribution of powers within the schooling and education systems, in the period between the 1944 Education Act and the 1988 Education Reform Act, when 'authority and power' were 'distributed among well defined institutions at different levels such as the DES, local authorities and schools and colleges'. (1975: 231, also quoted in Ranson, 1995: 430).

Within the field of Initial Teacher Education, Gabe (1991, 1994) has followed the 'race' analysis associated with Ben-Tovim et al. (1981) to assert the autonomy of 'race'-education quasi-state agencies from the economy. Gabe (1994) claims to present a critical analysis of the instrumentalist Marxist model. This Marxist model, he concludes, cannot account for British state policies in education because, in the matter of 'race' education initiatives for student teachers (1966–1989), Marxist instrumentalism 'generally failed to demonstrate its superior explanatory power in the case of a substantive field'. (ibid: 26).

Gabe holds that 'the development of ideologies' (integrationism, cultural pluralism and antiracism) has 'been conflictual and contingent rather than evolutionary and linear' (ibid: 50), and that the (quasi-) state apparatus under investigation was operating autonomously from the economy. The conclusion is problematic, however, since Gabe's article set out to examine the role of three state apparatuses in developing the 'race' education policy initiatives for student teachers. However, his examination is evidently of

only one apparatus in its three historical modes, the agencies involved being the Commission for Racial Equality and its two predecessors (the NCCI – National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, and the CRC – the Community Relations Commission).

Moreover, Gabe does not examine the interests of a dominant class or set of groups, nor does he address any conflict of interest between state rulers on the one hand and capital on the other (for the opposing view, see Hill and Cole, 1995). Ultimately, Gabe's conclusion is limited to showing, at a decontextualized meso-political level, a degree of autonomy attaching to one particular state apparatus, for one particular period of time.

Postmodern Theory and Education

Postmodern analysis appeared to be the most fashionable form of critical, cultural and educational analysis during the 1990s. Andy Green points to the function of postmodernism as the structuring paradigm for several readers on the Open University course, *Understanding Modern Societies*, as one indication of how central it has become to theoretical debates in the UK (Green, 1994: 3).

Epstein (1997) and Jarvis (1998), among very many other critics, testify to the salience of postmodern theory within social theory in general. There is also a critical consensus concerning the defining features of postmodernism. It is widely accepted (Boyne and Rattansi, 1990; Callinicos, 1989; Sarup, 1993; Epstein, 1997; Jarvis, 1998) that postmodernist social theory incorporates three strands. Firstly, a celebration of cultural heterogeneity and of cultural and ethical relativism; secondly, the 'poststructuralist' concepts of French theorists, in particular Baudrillard, Lyotard and Foucault, which reject structuralist explanations of society (the power of central structures like capitalism, or social class or patriarchy) in favour of textualism (seeing the social world as a text) and/ or the privileging of multiple sites of power; and thirdly, general notions of contemporary society, politics and economy that have redesignated 'advanced', or 'late', or 'high modern' capitalist societies as 'post-Fordist', 'postindustrial' or 'postcapitalist' and which claim that we live in 'New Times' - economically, socially, politically, ideologically.

It has also been claimed that as a theory, 'postmodernism does not refer to a unified movement' (Usher and Edwards, 1994: 2; c.f. Jarviss, 1998). Indeed, in essence it cannot. 'Resistance' postmodernists such as Giroux and, in the mid-1990s, McLaren (6) have attempted to show how a lack of unity can be emancipatory. For some political and ideological systems, at certain conjunctures, the postmodern escape from and challenge to what might be a stifling orthodoxy or metanarrative can feel, and be, liberating in some respects, for certain individuals and groups (those urging recognition of particular rights of minority groups or of women or gays and lesbians, for example). This can apply to academics and to the wider cultural (e.g. media) circles and audiences with which they interact. In post-Stalinist party states such as Slovenia, or post Right-wing authoritarian regimes such as exist in Spain and Portugal (or, at various times, in Latin American states such as Brazil), such rights and expressions can have a decisively progressive moment and impact. However, despite any particular, progressive and liberating moment, it remains possible to see postmodernism as anti-solidaristic and ultimately reactionary.

With respect to the autonomy of economic, cultural, ideological and political areas, postmodernists generally argue that the motor of capitalism is not determinant, and that the Enlightenment metanarratives of Marxism and neo-Marxism are unable to explain current and ongoing economic, political, social and cultural development (in British states and worldwide).

Diversification is central to the 'New Times' definition of economy, put forward in Britain during the 1980s, particularly by the magazine *Marxism Today*. The 'New Times' thesis, in its arguments about the changing nature of the economy (production and consumption patterns) from Fordism to post-Fordism, was a major part and form of postmodernist analysis at that time. 'New Times' theorists argue that the world has changed, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and that advanced capitalist countries are 'increasingly characterized by diversity, differentiation and fragmentation' (Hall and Jacques, 1989: 11). 'New Times' analysis (in company with associated forms of post-Fordism) has a number of recurring themes: the decline of mass production and of the traditional industrial proletariat, the rise of myriad political and social struggles and individualism, style and consumption (7).

For Sivanandan, 'New Times' means

a shift in focus from economic determinism, from changing the world to changing the word, from class in and for itself to the individual in and for himself or herself. Use value has ceded to exchange value, need to choice, community to identity, anti-imperialism to international humanism. And the self that new timers make so much play about [has] become a small, selfish inward-looking self that finds pride in lifestyle, exuberates in consumption and commitment in pleasure - and then elevates them all into a politics of this and that, positioning itself this way and that way (with every position a politics and every politics a position) into a miscellany of movements and organizations' stretching from hobbies and pleasure into services. (1990: 23, quoted in Cole and Hill, 1996a: 333).

This shift in focus frequently leads from ambivalence to ambiguity in postmodernist attempts to account for the relationship between state and capital, as when this account is applied to the restructuring of Initial Teacher Education, and to the bigger picture of the restructuring of education and of social and economic policy.

For example, in her analysis of the market in Australia, Jane Kenway (with Chris Bigum and Lindsay Fitzclarence) refers to the acceptance of the market lexicon in education and elsewhere, which both reflects and underpins a new educational era. Kenway cites the different types of marketisation and privatisation, particularly 'the education/ technology/ market triad'. (Kenway et al., 1993: 117). This is 'generating ... post-modern markets', and Kenway suggests that 'even though only some markets can be classified as post-modern, *the rapid rise of the market form in education is best understood as a post-modern phenomenon*'. (Kenway, 1992: 12, my italics). This considerably under-privileges the economic imperative of market-led educational changes (see Hill and Cole, 1995; Cole and Hill, 1995, 1996b, 2001).

Moreover, Kenway attempts to go beyond post-Fordist explanations and thereby ignores the political dimension of the demands of the latest stage of capitalism - its dominant political fractions and coalitions and its associated discursive practices. Therefore, her arguments are not sufficiently grounded in either the economic base or the politico-juridical superstructure.

The postmodernist theoretical dependency on underplaying the power of the state-capital relationship is recognized by resistance postmodernists, such as Giroux and McLaren (in his postmodernist phase), and indeed by quasi-postmodernists such as Stephen Ball. Yet even if the relationship is underplayed, postmodern theorists do at least acknowledge, along with Kenway, the role of the state in the restructuring of education to accommodate the demands of capital. Usher and Edwards, for example, recognize the qualitative change evident in attempts by recent British governments to adapt education systems (and cultures as a whole) to international economic competition (see Usher and Edwards 1994; Kenway, 1992; Hartley 1993).

Hartley locates ITE changes *only partially* within the economic imperatives of capitalism (1993: 92, cf. 1997). Like Usher and Edwards (1994), he profoundly underestimates both the intention and effects of government policy. For example, he suggests that the decline of academic disciplines in ITE is due to their 'being rooted in the age of modernity', and that 'in the culture of postmodernism, we should not be surprised by this' (ibid.: 91). Such passive acceptance of the displacement of theoretical tools for reflection on the social is highly questionable. Having expelled social class as a salient objective social phenomenon within contemporary society, Hartley (1993, 1997) cannot therefore *recognize* the essentially class-based policies of the British State within the educational arena.

Elsewhere, other critics of postmodernist concepts also acknowledge the distinctive theoretical underplaying of the power of the state and capital. These include culturalist neo-Marxist relative autonomy theorists, such as Apple (*passim*); Whitty (1991, 1993) as well as Wallace (1995), McCulloch (1995) and Evans (1995) in their separate reviews of Andy Hargreaves' *Changing Teachers, Changing Times: teachers work and culture in the postmodern age* (1994a).

Despite this limitation, or perhaps because of it, postmodernists claim that economic, social and educational policy changes (such as the restructuring of schooling and of teacher education apparatuses) are *both* the product and the epiphenomenal reflection of post-Fordist 'New Times'. Yet many of the claims of 'post-Fordism' are based, as Alex Callinicos notes, on a highly selective reading of the economic evidence and are of little value. For example, to claim that the provision of 'services' is increasingly replacing the

manufacture of 'goods' ignores the fact that in certain areas (entertainment, the domestic sphere) goods (such as videos, compact discs, washing machines) have replaced services (Callinicos, 1989: 123, referred to in Sanders, Hill and Hankin, 1999 and in Hill, Sanders and Hankin, 2001).

As I have shown, the major aspects of recent and continuing policy changes in schooling and ITE are: marketisation and differentiation of schooling and of routes into teaching, apparent de-regulation of schools, pseudo-consumer choice - where entry into school or 'teacher training' is related, *inter alia*, to cultural capital (Liljander, 1998; Hill, 2001c), the salience of quality control, and the end of 'totalising' mass provision and uniformity in schooling and Initial Teacher Education. These *appear to postmodernists* to be a manifestation, and indeed, in some cases, a vindication, of postmodern fragmentation, of consumerisation and heterogeneity.

However, 'to regard the espousal of heterogeneity, pluralism and local narratives as indicative of a new social order may be to mistakes phenomenal forms for structural relations. (Whitty, 1997: 300. See also Whitty, 1991: 8-9; Apple and Whitty, 1999, 2001). Post-Fordist changes in production and consumption, where they are taking place, are not fundamentally altering workers' relations to the means of production, even if many more are 'self-employed' and/or now work at home. Postmodernist analysis, therefore, can be seen as a theoretical extrapolation of sectorally *limited* economic and social change (and, indeed, on a global scale, geographically limited).

Despite this crucial limitation, post-Fordism is frequently conflated, theoretically, with not only postmodernism but also post-capitalism. Harvey (1989) has observed how postmodernist cultural forms and more flexible modes of capital accumulation are 'shifts in surface appearance', rather than 'signs of the emergence of some entirely new post-capitalist or even post-industrial society'. (Cole and Hill, 1995: 167).

Postmodernist accounts of changes in education reflect how the anti-foundationalist, anti-totalitarianist emphasis can contribute to the fragmentation of agency. David Hartley (1993) and Andrew Hargreaves (1993, 1994a, b) have both sought to explain developments in ITE as 'a postmodern condition'. Finding a 'trend towards an anti-disciplinary epistemology in teacher education, one which forsakes the general narratives

of academic theoreticians in favour of the personal correctness of professional teachers', Hartley states that in teacher education 'the culture of postmodernism has "driven" some of us towards personal and niche narratives'. (Hartley, 1993: 83–84). At the same time, in attempts to exercise control over teachers, 'there remains a politically defined grand narrative emanating from central government (especially in England and New Zealand)', which is accompanied by 'a concern with empowering the individual reflective teacher'. (ibid: 90).

Postmodern analysts reject foundationalism as oppressive and 'totalitarian', marginalising the views, experiences and lives of non-dominant groups (i.e. the non white, European, ruling class, heterosexual and male). Part of this anti-foundationalism entails the repudiation of grand theories of society, and the rationalist bases on which the Enlightenment rested. As Andy Green (1994) has noted, these grand theories include belief in scientific rationality, historical progress, the autonomy of the individual, the possibility of objective reason and any integrated or coherent thought-system that attempts to find an overall pattern in social structures or in historical development. Thus, Usher and Edwards argue with other postmodernists that changes in the purposes, content and methods of education 'are part of a process that, generally, questions the role of education as the child of the enlightenment'. (Usher and Edwards, 1994).

Broadly, postmodernism views experience as ephemeral, reality as fragmentary and unknowable. For the individual subject, there is no stable or fixed identity, and consciousness is reduced to a temporary conjuncture of shifting discourses and perspectives, which permit no fixed point of reference. For postmodernists, any 'totalising' system of thought is inherently totalitarian. The rejection of foundationalist metanarratives, the denial of any totalising system of thought or analysis such as Marxism, liberalism or feminism, can however limit the explanatory power of postmodernism itself: postmodernists typically point to various symptoms of contemporary society, but refuse to make general statements about it.

In prescriptions for the curriculum and pedagogy of education, Giroux's political project throughout the 1990s (also in Giroux, 2000) reflects a number of postmodernist features. Firstly, it celebrates multiple sites from which the word is spoken. Secondly, it is non-dualistic and sees 'difference without opposition' (as far as non-dualism and difference

without opposition are concerned, postmodernism does not recognize the major duality in capitalist societies, that of social class). Thirdly, the subject is 'in process' and 'capable of agency'.

In company with McLaren (1994), McLaren and Hammer (1989), McLaren and Lankshear (1994) and also Aronowitz (1991), Henry Giroux defines the 'postmodernism of resistance', wherein agency relates to localised action. Lather (1991) has distinguished two opposing strands of postmodernism, the 'postmodernism of reaction' and 'postmodernism of resistance'. The former, which Lather describes as neo-Nietzschean, is concerned with the collapse of meaning, and is nihilist and cynical. The conception of the individual follows Jean Baudrillard's 'simulacra' (1991: 160–161), captured perfectly in Baudrillard's own definition of postmodernism as,

a game with the vestiges of what has been destroyed... [We] must move in it, as though it were a kind of circular gravity ... I have the impression with postmodernism that there is an attempt to rediscover a certain pleasure in the irony of things, in the game of things. Right now one can tumble into total helplessness - all the definitions, everything, its all been done. (Baudrillard, 1984 in Gane, 1993: 95).

A more positive view of the capacity for political agency is put by Judith Butler, who stresses the need for an 'antifoundationalist approach to coalitional politics', which assumes neither that 'identity' is a premise nor that the shape or meaning of a coalitional assemblage can be known prior to its achievement'. (1990: 15). Typically, for analysis formulated within the limitations of postmodernism however, agency is constrained to 'emancipation in a particular sense', and has a 'minimum profile'. (Nederveen Pieterse, 1992). The 'concern with autonomy' comprises 'in terms of organization, a tendency towards network forms, and, in terms of mentality, a tendency towards self-limitation'. (idem).

Usher and Edwards (1994) perceive Foucault's notion of discourse as 'powerful enough to simultaneously constitute and exclude certain possibilities of thought and action' (Usher and Edwards, 1994: 91). Various aspects of schooling and of ITE are seen as postmodern, such as the continuous assessment and competency movements whereby 'in operating within a discourse of competence, leavers themselves become the subjects of their own surveillance' (Usher and Edwards, 1994: 110); also, the discourse of

competent management, whereby head teachers and HEI directorates have been repositioned as managers and teachers, and lecturers as technicians, while problems within schooling are presented as management problems rather than as fundamentally ideological problems. In relation to developments within ITE, Usher and Edwards perceive 'a regime of truth' which 'derides certain forms of knowledge as "theory", irrelevant to "getting the job done well" (ibid: 115), and places greater emphasis on the practical school-based development of teaching competencies and portfolio-based assessments. 'Trainee teachers therefore become increasingly subject to the ongoing monitoring of their own experience and practice within which the possibilities for alternative and resultant formulations and discourse are severely limited' (idem).

The move to competencies, to 'effective management', to self-management, to continuous assessment, to the exaltation of practice over theory, and the discourses associated with them, are seen by Usher and Edwards as 'detail of how the governance of people comes about' (idem: 101). Here, the terms of analysis follow Foucauldian notions of observation, surveillance, the pantechicon, categorisation, and individualism.

Along with Stephen Ball (1990b), Usher and Edwards recognize the functionality of these surveillance and control mechanisms as 'part of a "radical right" thrust to gain a closer and more precise control over the processes of schooling.' (Ball, 1990b: 155).

Yet the focus of criticism for Usher and Edwards denotes the postmodernist concentration on singular, local effect: disciplinary power is understood in terms of Foucault's statement that 'instead of bending all its subjects into a single uniform mass, it separates, analyses, differentiates' (Foucault, 1979: 170), so that 'subjects are constructed in their individuality and subjectivity by a process of itemisation and atomisation'. (Usher and Edwards, 1994: 102).

Postmodernist accounts of state theory, of the relation between structure and agency, also the influence of Foucault and Barthes, are more extensively addressed by Stephen Ball in his 'quasi' postmodernist theory.

Quasi-Postmodernist Theory and Education

With associates such as Richard Bowe, Ann Gold and Meg Maguire, Stephen Ball has developed a quasi-postmodernist analysis of education policy and implementation. Ball's position draws on the postmodern 'New Times' theory of Post-Fordism and Foucault's concepts of the dispersal of power and textualism, in combination with his own specific focus on micro-politics and Barthes' concepts of 'writerly texts', autonomy and resistance (see, for example, Ball, 1990b, 1994a, 1994b, 1998; Bowe and Ball with Gold, 1992, Ball, Maguire and MacRae, 2000. See also Rikowski, 2001g for a critique of Ball et al., 2000).

I am applying the term 'quasi-postmodernist' because Ball was once a culturalist neo-Marxist, and retains a concept of (and anger at) capitalist oppression and the nature of capitalism and its relation to the state and to state apparatuses. Ranson notes that 'Ball's different theoretical strategies are accommodated within an Althusserian framework which defines social systems in terms of their ideological, political and economic levels' (Ranson, 1995: 435). Each level, for Ball, requires its own appropriate theoretical strategy - the economic level requiring 'structural analysis and the relationship of education to capital'; the political level requiring 'realist/ interactionist analysis of the politics and governance of education, the influence of groups and of various constituencies in the policy process'; the ideological level requiring 'discursive analysis of the ways in which education policy is conceived and discussed' (ibid.).

However, Hatcher and Troyna (1994) define Ball's approach as 'critical pluralist', a 'revision of conventional pluralism designed to take account of the structured inequality of power in capitalist societies' (Hatcher and Troyna, 1994: 157), the position Ranson (1995) refers to as 'neo-pluralist' (ibid: 437). Ball himself has described his own work as 'Weberian neo-pluralist' (1990b: 328).

Since the 1980s, Ball's shift from culturalist neo-Marxism to postmodernist strains of thought has produced a culturalist emphasis in his writing, together with a stress on localised resistance and individual autonomy, at the expense of an emphasis on centralised political force and the repressive state apparatuses. Nonetheless, Ball *does* theorize the state (unlike resistance postmodernists such as Giroux and McLaren). Also,

he does locate the restructuring of education within a hegemonic project of capital. He does recognize a bigger picture of educational restructuring, and does reiterate these (typically neo-Marxist) concerns in an attempt to synthesise the big and the little pictures. Other points of distinction from the generally agreed features of postmodernism (stated above) occur in Ball's repudiation of the notion that postmodern culture is dominant, and his rejection of the concepts of hyper-reality, of fractured and commercially-dominated individual selves.

Ball's theoretical amalgam includes a particular understanding of the dynamic between the relative autonomy of the state, and agency within educational contexts of policy implementation.

In the quasi-postmodernist view, the restructuring of Initial Teacher Education policies to establish response to a competitive market constitutes the (postmodernist) replication, in epiphenomenal form, of changes in a post-Fordist economic structure in society (although unlike postmodernists of reaction, Ball and his colleagues recognize and contest the anti-egalitarian effects of an increasingly hierarchically-differentiated schooling system). Thus, the importance of economic determination or influence on policy is significantly reduced (especially through Ball's concept of delimitation), while the degree of the autonomy of teachers in recreating and co-producing 'texts', such as the National Curriculum, is emphasized (both of these aspects marking difference from the various neo-Marxisms).

Ball gives extra weight to the political and ideological regions of society, as against the economic, even more than culturalist neo-Marxist relative autonomy theorists (a discussion of whose work follows this discussion of Ball's work). He suggests that 'once one takes on board the ideas of autonomy, delimitation and agency then much of the tidiness offered by cruder versions of state theory is inevitably lost'. (Ball, 1990b: 14). He agrees with Hargreaves (1983: 49) that "'Multicausality, pluralistic conflict, administrative complexity and historical inertia'" should be regarded as 'having *equal* theoretical and conceptual relevance in understanding policy-making processes as does the logic and development of the capitalist mode of production'. (Ball, 1990b: 14–15, my emphasis. Hatcher and Troyna, 1994: 158 make similar points).

The relative autonomy of the 'political' and 'ideological' from the 'economic' is best comprehended, for Ball, as *delimitation* as opposed to *determination*. There is, he suggests (Ball, 1990b: 13) an important difference between recognizing that there are boundaries to the possibility of structure and arguing that those possibilities are structurally pre-ordained. He cites Olin Wright's view (Wright, 1979: 15–16) that

Structural limitation ... is especially important for understanding the sense in which economic structures 'ultimately' determine political and ideological structures, and make some of these possible forms more likely than others, but they do not rigidly determine in a mechanistic manner any given form of political and ideological relations. (cit. Ball, 1990b: 13).

Ball admits,

I am struggling here with not wanting to 'give away' materialism' - but neither wanting to accept an unproblematic, law-governed, normative version of social and educational change. We desperately need to account for the inconsistencies of social reproduction, and the 'cracks, fissures and contradictions'. The reality of fiscal crises, changed strategies of accumulation and mode of production, and concomitant changes in the mode of regulation and the role of the state are not in question; but their effects in the field of education cannot just be read off (as many writers want to do). (Ball, 1990b: 16).

For Ranson, Ball's critique is 'neo-pluralist' exactly because it circumscribes 'the formal power of the state by the struggles to influence interpretation and action at each stage of the policy cycle'. (Ranson, 1995: 437).

In line with culturalist neo-Marxism, Ball rejects the 'top down linearity' of the Marxist state control model of education policy. To a greater extent than structuralist neo-Marxists (discussed below as the final state theory to be examined), he stresses instead the importance of disarticulations, of local analysis of the small practice. Ball (1994) charges Hatcher and Troyna with Marxist reductionism which has 'increasingly less relevance to the specifics of high-modernist, post-Fordist, multi-cultural western societies', and finds that 'in practice, there are no conceptual links in the theoretical chain which they stretch from capital to education practice'. (Ball, 1994b: 178). Ball approaches legislation as 'but one aspect of *a continual process in which the loci of power are constantly shifting* as the various resources implicit and explicit in texts are

recontextualized and employed in the struggle to maintain or change views of schooling.' (Bowe and Ball with Gold, 1992: 13, my emphasis). As a result, the policy process 'may be constrained' but 'is one of complexity, it is one of policy making and remaking. It is often difficult, if not impossible to control or predict the effects of policy'. (ibid: 23).

While state apparatuses are associated with disunity, conflicting functions, and disarticulations in policy implementation, Ball and his co-writers stress human agency, resistance, and what they see as the success of adapting and modifying, or colonizing state policy. One policy, the National Curriculum, is perceived as 'not so much "implemented" in schools as being "re-created", not so much "reproduced" as being "produced"', so that the policy cycle is construed as a process of contextualization and re-creation. Barthes' conceptual distinction between 'readerly' and 'writerly' texts is important here, since the National Curriculum is considered as a 'writerly' text, involving teachers as readers and therefore co-producers, effectively linking the given text (the National Curriculum) to their own experiences and aims.

Yet the quasi-postmodernist view imposes limitations on the theoretical evaluation of the role of schools and educators as agents in the process of policy implementation, as well as on the relative autonomy of the state. While the micro-political processes of schools are seen as the milieu for policy recontextualization, the process is one in which both are modified - 'schools are changing as a result' and 'so too is the National Curriculum'. This

leaves us with the strong feeling that the state control model is analytically very limited. Our empirical data does not suggest that the State is without power. But equally it indicates such power is strongly circumscribed by the contextual features of institutions, over which the state may find that control is both problematic and contradictory in terms of other political projects. (Bowe and Ball with Gold, 1992: 120).

Similarly, Ball acknowledges 'the crucial role of human agency in shaping state policy' but proposes a theory of individual subjectivity so heavily overcast by social forces of contradiction, diversity, proliferation and antagonism as to obscure the possibility of defining any real or concrete way of realising that agency. This is evident in the way Ball develops his criticism of Hatcher and Troyna's 'top-down linearity' as not only

increasingly irrelevant, but as also failing to pursue the excesses of diversification which, apparently, leave human social development dependent on the faint hope of more progressive articulation. Deploying exactly those criticisms which Stuart Hall (Hall, 1988: 170–171) aims at the 'labourist left', Ball states that Marxist reductionism

does not understand the necessarily contradictory nature of human subjects, of social identities. It does not understand politics as a production. It does not see that it is possible to connect with the ordinary feelings and experiences which people have in their every day lives, and yet to articulate them progressively to a more advanced, modern form of social consciousness. It is not actively looking for and working upon the enormous diversity of social forces in our society. It doesn't see that it is in the very nature of modern capitalist civilisation to proliferate the centre of power, and thus draw more and more areas of life into social antagonism. It does not recognize that the identities which people carry in their heads - their subjectivities, their cultural life, their sexual life, their family life and their ethnic identities - are always incomplete and have become massively politicised. (Ball, 1994b: 179–180).

In summary, Ball appears to be a pluralist with added Foucault and Barthes, an advocate of delimitation plus certain aspects of neo-Marxist critique. The quasi-postmodernist position he defines involves the (residually statist) notion that a state controlled by progressive forces might be able to respond to post-Fordist and postmodernist developments in society (for example, in ITE) in a less divisive, more egalitarian way. The capacity for resistance to policy within specific micro-political workplaces (e.g. in schools and HEIs) is recognized, yet the theory of agency mirrors Ball's weak version of statism, in that a progressive alliance of forces within the institutional contexts which co-produce 'texts' (policies), might effect modifications to diminish or colonise state intentionality.

Culturalist neo-Marxist Theory and Education

From the late 1970s, theorists such as Apple (1979a, b; 1982; 1988; 1989a, b; c; 1993), Sarup (1983; 1986), Whitty (1985), Liston (1988), Dale (1989), Giroux (1983a, b; 1988a, b; 1989a, b), Aronowitz and Giroux (1986), and Cole (1988) sought to break from what they saw as the reproductionist elements of neo-Marxism - the structuralist

rigidities, the determinism and economism, found in Bowles and Gintis (1976), Althusser (1971) and Bourdieu (1976, See also Bourdieu and Passeron, eds., 1990).

Drawing on the cultural implications of Gramsci's work, they contested the negative and politically pessimistic aspects they found in the reproduction theory of schools and education in general, for mechanically reproducing existing patterns of social, economic and political inequality (see Giroux [1983b] for a concise critique of Bowles and Gintis, Althusser and Bourdieu). Whitty (1985), Giroux (1983a, b) and (Cole, 1988) all adopted post-reproduction theory culturalist neo-Marxist views.

Neo-Gramscian, culturalist neo-Marxists find that reproduction theory substantially denies (i) human agency, (ii) voluntarism, (iii) space for resistance and counter hegemonic struggle and (iv) the importance of non class-based social movements (movements based for example on ethnicity, sex or sexuality). Giroux stresses these four points in all his Marxist, pre-postmodernist texts of the 1980s, up to and including his *Post-Modern Education: Politics, Culture and Social Criticism* of (co-authored with Stanley Aronowitz) (1992) (8).

Regarding the relationships between capital and the state, and the state and government, neo-Marxists (both culturalist and structuralist) follow Dale in identifying *three key problems on the agenda of education systems* in the capitalist states. Here, Dale applies concepts from Althusser and (particularly) Poulantzas to define three analytically distinct 'regions' of the state - the economic, the political and the ideological. These present three problems to the agenda of education systems: direct support for the capital accumulation process, the provision of a wider social context not inimical to the continuing capital accumulation, and the ideological legitimation of the work of the state and the education system (Dale 1989: 95). (Althusser had introduced the concept of the relative autonomy of these three regions of the state, and can be termed the 'first neo-Marxist' for challenging the established Marxist principle of the economic base deterministically reflected in the superstructure of the state, in its politics and dominant ideology).

Ranson (1995) has noted that culturalist neo-Marxist relative autonomy theory can be located (together with Stephen Ball's 'weaker' account of the economy-state-policy relationship) within pluralist theories of the state and the policy process. The accelerated

centralization of the state from the mid-1970s onwards led a number of education policy analysts (particularly Dale and Ozga, 1991) to attack not only the appropriateness of pluralism for an understanding of this restructuring of the state and the education system but also, building on the work of CCCS (1981) and Simon (1965, 1974), its inherent limitations for any analysis of education due to its neglect of state power in policy-making and implementation.

Gewirtz and Ozga (1990) observe that culturalist neo-Marxist relative autonomy theory amends traditional Marxism in the following ways:

- the state does possess a degree of autonomy (relative autonomy) from the economy;
- it may be capable of acting in its own interest (and not only as 'the executive of the bourgeoisie');
- the activities of the state are not limited to the furtherance of capitalism, these other activities may, indeed, temporarily interfere with its 'pro-capitalist' functions;
- the state has to address contradictory problems, and its solutions therefore generate further tensions and problems;
- state policy is not simply imposed on a duped and quiescent population, but is resisted and sometimes modified in significant ways.

(Gewirtz and Ozga, 1990: 39–40).

Culturalist neo-Marxism notes the disarticulations common in state policy. In 1976, Bowles and Gintis had observed how 'the state "site"' articulates the 'appropriative, political, cultural and distributive practices occurring within it'. (1976: 56). In 1989, Dale suggested that the various problems presented by state policy are 'often mutually contradictory ... (and) by no means exhaust the agenda of education systems'. (Dale, 1989a: 95).

For Dale, governments and their Ministries are part of the state, yet have a particular relationship to the state and a degree of autonomy from it. This is due to their concern to represent, in political parties, the 'short term interests of the temporarily dominant coalition of forces within a social formation'. Government policy therefore reflects 'the

shifts of interest and influence' amongst the groups making up the coalition, and also 'its conception of what is required to secure majority electoral support'. While 'the government acts to mediate the State and its subjects to each other', Dale proposes that it is

the activity generated by such intragovernmental problems which creates what Gramsci (1971: 13) referred to as the 'great mass of functions which are not all necessitated by the social necessities of production' or what Offe (1973: 115) called 'the claims which emerge merely from party competition and political conflict, but in no way directly result from the actual requirements of capital accumulation itself. (Dale, 1989a: 53–54. See also Gamble, 1988: 16–17).

Jessop makes a useful distinction between ideological strategies and economic accumulation strategies. He notes that,

hegemonic projects and accumulation strategies are not identical, even though they may overlap partially and/ or mutually condition each other. While accumulation strategies are directly concerned with economic expansion on a national or international scale, hegemonic projects can be concerned principally with various non-economic objectives (even if economically conditioned and economically relevant). The latter might include military success, social reform, political stability or moral regeneration. Moreover, while accumulation strategies are orientated primarily to the relations of production and thus to the balance of class forces, hegemony projects are typically orientated to broader issues grounded not only in economic relations but also in the field of civil society and the state. Accordingly, hegemonic projects should take account of the balance among all relevant social forces, however these may be organized. It is in this sense that we can refer to hegemonic projects as concerned with the 'national popular' and not simply with class relations. (Jessop, 1990: 208).

On the issue of tensions within the state, Dale refers to Therborn to suggest that the relative autonomy of state apparatuses from government control derives from their particular history (Dale, 1989a: 33–34). Therborn claims that state apparatuses are not directable at will, and that it is necessary to recognize 'the co-existence within a particular state system of several apparatuses, in which different sets of class relations may have crystallised'. (Therborn, 1978: 35). It is worth recalling the analysis set out in Chapter Two of this thesis, that the Radical Right project itself is not monolithic, riven as it is by neo-liberal 'Free Marketeers' and by neo-conservative 'Cultural Restorationists'.

A consideration of structuralist neo-Marxism will help to distinguish other aspects of the culturalist neo-Marxist approach to relative autonomy.

Structuralist neo-Marxist Theory and Education

Since Althusser's critiques of vulgar Marxism (dominant in the 1950s and 1960s), structuralist neo-Marxists have also recognized that there are genuinely distinct types of policy within capitalist societies, that there are important differences in the form of the capitalist state; and that *within limits* there is always a variety of possible political outcomes. However, structuralist neo-Marxists still argue that capitalist relations of production, and the classes they define, are primary to the explanation of such politics (c.f. Geras, 1990: 75).

Current neo-Marxist analyses that appear to work within a structuralist neo-Marxist tradition, as opposed to a culturalist neo-Marxist tradition (9), recognize that the requirements and logic of capital (itself fractured, for example between the interests of finance and industrial capital – see Green, 1997; Cole, 1998a) are not effected in an unproblematic, uncontested, linear, deterministic process. They also accept a degree of relative autonomy within (education) state apparatuses.

Yet here lies a difference of emphasis, marking an important theoretical distinction. Culturalist neo-Marxism involves considerable (and, arguably, inordinate) stress on the degree of autonomy of state apparatuses; also (via its culturalist/ humanist notions of human agency) a comparable stress on the autonomy of state agents, such as teachers or teacher educators, and their capacity for resistance. In contrast, structuralist neo-Marxist analysis gives *economic* requirements greater priority over non-economic considerations than is expressed in the concepts of overdetermination (Althusser 1971), delimitation (Jessop, 1990) or exclusion (Ball, 1990b). As Hatcher and Troyna put it, 'the level of the economic does not merely provide a context, a set of limits; it actively intervenes in and shapes the political, the social, the cultural, the ideological'. (1994: 159). In comparison with structural neo-Marxists, culturalist neo-Marxist relative autonomy theorists lay more emphasis on the degree of autonomy of the *non-economic* regions of the state.

An example of the contrast between culturalist neo-Marxist relative autonomy theory and the structuralist neo-Marxist position can be seen in Whitty's work, when he (1985) criticizes his own earlier position, which was close to that of Freeland (1979). Freeland saw (in Australia in 1978, during 'a sharpening of the ideological class struggle') a 'unity of purpose among the fractions of capital and their political and ideological representatives', on behalf of 'the necessity to secure the essential conditions for a restructuring of Australian capitalism in its international context'. (Freeland, cited in Whitty, 1985: 137). Whitty later reflected, from a culturalist neo-Marxist position, that,

although, like Freeland, I recognized the possibility of inherent contradictions, and ideological conflict within the fractions of the ruling class block, my emphasis, like his, was on their unity. This had the effect not only of constructing a false sense of the ideological unity of the dominant order in the face of the crisis but also of making the effects of the ideological response to that crisis seem more of a foregone conclusion than I now believe them to have been. (Whitty, 1985: 137).

Whitty (in an example of culturalist neo-Marxist relative autonomy analysis) concluded that in analysing the character and dynamics of ideological struggles over education and within education, neither the educational apparatuses of the state nor the outcomes of crises (outcomes being dependent on 'the disposition of ideological forces') are responsive in a mechanistic manner to the imperatives of capital.

My critique here, from a structuralist neo-Marxist perspective (an analysis and critique developed in Chapter Nine) is that Whitty (1985) underplays the ideological unity of the dominant order, especially within ruling capitalist class fractions. One example is the mutually supportive coherence of neo-conservative and neo-liberal ideology, as expressed by Gamble in *The Free Economy and the Strong State* (also, as set out in Chapter Two of this thesis). While the agenda of the 'neo-Conservative' or 'Cultural Restorationist' wing of the Radical Right may not immediately appear economically determined, its policy is intentionally functional for, and ultimately subservient to, the economic neo-liberal restructuring of the British state and of a supportive, increasingly stratified, hierarchical and inegalitarian society. To refer back to the discussion in Chapter Five, I also argue that new Labour's social democratic rhetoric and policy items (and, indeed, its populist pre-election campaigning in 2001) are also, in effect,

subservient to this same economic neo-liberal restructuring of the British state and the development of an increasingly stratified, hierarchical and inegalitarian society.

In relation to the culturalist-structuralist contention within neo-Marxism, it is important to consider the use of force by governments against dissent. This is underestimated by culturalist neo-Marxism and all the other theories discussed here. State apparatuses and quasi-state apparatuses and their staff have been, like CATE and ITE in general under the Thatcher–Major Conservative governments in Britain, variously abolished, re-formed, re-staffed, sidelined, or otherwise rendered less effective in expressing their particular, historically-formed institutional or group attitudes, ideologies and practices. Trade Unions, the Civil Service, Local Education Authorities, Local Authorities, the Greater London Council and the Office for Population Census Statistics have all suffered one or more of these fates. The Blair government's 'naming and shaming' policies on schools it deems 'failing', the rhetorical stress on the school effectiveness movement and decrying of 'ineffectiveness' has been no less consistent than that of the Conservatives - though leavened by a social democratic inclusionary gloss in rhetoric and policy (as argued in Chapter Five of this thesis).

It is true that there are relatively benign state apparatuses (such as the Commission for Racial Equality) (Hill and Cole, 1995) and policies. It is also true that at various moments, political considerations prevail over those of capital accumulation (such as pre-election fiscal largesse and the government amendment of National Curriculum Assessment requirements). And certainly, as the culturalist neo-Marxist relative autonomy theorist Dale (1989a) points out, the various functions of schooling for capital accumulation (the skill/ labour training, the ideological/ socialisation/ legitimisation functions) have tensions between them. Yet the limitations to autonomy - however underplayed or theoretically obscured by state autonomy, postmodernist, quasi-postmodernist and culturalist neo-Marxist theories - are readily apparent.

Despite vertical disarticulations in government policy through 'filtering', despite micro-level resistance and large scale resistance to the British Governments' educational projects and policies, the success of resistance has been limited, within the big picture, as these three examples show:

- in July 1993, teachers and their Trade Unions (with support of parents) succeeded in making marginal changes to the National Curriculum Assessments. They also secured some success in securing the Dearing Report revision and slimming down of the National Curriculum 1995. This has been followed by a further slimming down of the National Curriculum by the New Labour Government, with its decision to focus teaching on 'the basics', the four Foundation areas of the National Curriculum, at the expense of the wider or other subject areas in the curriculum. This revised National Curriculum was introduced in September 2000 (DfEE, 2000a). Yet the restrictive framework of the National Curriculum remains, and is expected to remain (as seen in Part One of this Chapter in relation to 'Literacy Hour' and 'Numeracy Hour') in increasingly prescriptive form.
- teachers appeared to have largely resisted the non-graduate Licensed Teacher Scheme, and the non-graduate, one-year trained 'Mums' Army' scheme for infant teachers collapsed in the face of almost universal opposition. However, in 2001 there were approximately 1,300 teachers in schools who had 'trained' on the variety of 'Alternative Routes' (the Graduate Teacher programme, the Licensed Teacher scheme, the Registered Teachers' programme and the Overseas Trained Teacher scheme) (DfEE, 2001, Table 1). This number is expanding considerably with the teacher shortage of 2001–2002. More than 1,100 people were due to take up places on the Graduate Teacher Programme in September 2001 (TTA, 2001b). Furthermore, in August 1998 New Labour proposed taking unemployed youngsters off the dole queues and putting them into classrooms as (presumably very low-paid) classroom assistants. And the full-time equivalent number of teacher assistants, who, overwhelmingly have minimal training and pay, has reached unprecedented proportions (more than 120,000). (DfEE, 2000c). By July 2001 the government was able to announce that 'since 1999 we have recruited 3000 trained Learning Mentors, as well as 25,000 more Teaching Assistants (DfES, 2001c: 1).
- although some aspects of the Education Bill of 1994 relating to the role of HEIs in school-based 'teacher training' were defeated in the House of Lords, the government subsequently reinstated a total separation of SCITT (School Centred Initial Teacher Training) from higher education on particular policy issues, and there have been disagreements between CATE and the various

Secretaries of State for Education, for example over the Licensed Teacher Scheme and the 'Mum's Army' scheme. However, the role of CATE itself has changed markedly since the period 1984–1989 (Wilkin, 1992). Thus CATE, through its circular 3/84 (DES, 1984) together with the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) provided space for - and, in some institutions, stimulated or facilitated - the development and implementation of egalitarianism, anti-sexism, multi-culturalism and anti-racism in ITE (10). However, the re-constituted CATE, through its circulars 9/92 (DFE, 1992a) and 14/93 (DFE, 1993a) did, in intention and in effect, institute a national curriculum for ITE, with very little space for egalitarianism, critical reflection, cultural pluralism or anti-racism (11). This occurred four years prior to the term 'national curriculum' being formally applied to 'teacher training', in New Labour's TTA Circulars of 1997 and 1998. CATE, and its successor body the TTA, have adopted a more overtly repressive, conforming ideological policy (12), which regulates ITE far more thoroughly and restrictingly than in previous decades.

On the issue of ideology and the salience of ideological hegemony, structuralist neo-Marxists follow the critique of the power of ideology set out in the *Dominant Ideology Thesis* by Abercrombie et al. (1980). This critique holds, for example, that the Thatcherite two-nation hegemonic project – in regard to social policy, economic policy and education (including Teacher Education) policy – has *not* achieved its sought-for hegemony, despite continuing strategies of 'free market Stalinism' (Wragg, 1993) and 'authoritarian populism' (e.g. Hall, 1985). Structuralist neo-Marxists therefore contend, to a greater extent than culturalist neo-Marxists, that where the *Ideological State Apparatuses* fail to achieve or maintain hegemony, the *Repressive State Apparatuses* and the repressive/ juridical aspects of the Ideological State Apparatuses are foregrounded.

Examples here are the 1994 Education Bill, Conservative and New Labour Government Circulars, financial provisions and other means of restricting and restructuring non-compliant organizations or activities such as ITE.

The constraint of culturalist analyses of ideology, including the authoritarian populism thesis proposed by Stuart Hall, is defined by Norrie and Adelman (1989):

The utility of the term 'authoritarian populism' is limited by its derivation from a mode of analysis that unduly privileges ideological and political factors in opposition to the structural and economic conditions within which ideologies and politics operate. (Norrie and Adelman, 1989: 112; see also Jessop et al, 1984; Jessop, 1990).

This contrasts with Hall's earlier (pre-'authoritarian populism') approach in *Policing the Crisis* (Hall et al, 1978), which constitutes 'rounded analysis of the location of politics and ideology, of a crisis of hegemony within an overall economic context' (ibid: 123). Therefore, culturalist analyses define a *consensual authoritarianism* to incorporate the material basis of Thatcherite repressive, 'strong state' strategies, on a historical basis. Where a consensus for authoritarianism occurs, it is Thatcherite authoritarianism against some, with the consent of others'. (Norrie and Adelman, 1989: 119). Norrie and Adelman are talking here of aspects of policy where Thatcherism *did* win widespread consent (unlike the ITE, GLC and British Rail examples). The key argument is that the success of Thatcherism

is, in part, due to Thatcher's ability ideologically to articulate authoritarian ideas in a popular way, *but more importantly is due to the fertile social ground upon which these ideological ideas have been scattered. Behind the authoritarian populist ideologies there lie the real material possibilities for consensual authoritarianism within the British class structure.* (Norrie and Adelman, 1989: 124, my emphasis).

The neo-Marxist criticism of Hall's 'authoritarian populism', and the relatively constrained culturalist focus on ideological discourse, is that

in emphasising the specific discursive strategies involved in Thatcherism, authoritarian populism risks ignoring other elements. In particular it could neglect the structural underpinnings of Thatcherism in the economic and state systems and its specific economic and political basis of support among both people and power bloc. (Jessop et al., 1984 cit. Norrie and Adelman, 1989: 122, see the debate between Jessop et al, 1984 and Hall, 1985).

From the historical perspective, Norrie and Adelman show that there is nothing new in a British national-popular project as such - there was authoritarianism before Thatcher - but 'what we experience is importantly a matter of degree ... the ratchet has been turned

more than one notch in the process'. (ibid: 124). However, the success of the Thatcherite ideological project relates to the policy context, which includes material interests in lower direct taxation, council house sales, rising living standards for those still in private sector employment, and lower inflation as examples of 'the material basis of the acceptance of authoritarian populist ideologies'. (Norrie and Adelman, 1989: 122).

In relation, then, to the *two-nation hegemonic project* defined in Part One of this chapter, the structuralist neo-Marxist analysis for which I argue in Chapter Nine would state, against culturalist neo-Marxism, that in those areas where Thatcherite ideas *have* become hegemonic (albeit still contested), such hegemony can be seen to be rooted in material factors. In those areas where Thatcherites have *not* secured widespread support, Conservative governments have used the force of the repressive state apparatuses, which have been foregrounded in consequence.

So far, I have compared the concept of relative state autonomy in state autonomy, postmodern, quasi-postmodern, culturalist neo-Marxist and structuralist neo-Marxist theories. This has shown analyses differing in the degree and emphasis afforded to the relative autonomy of the state, of state apparatuses, and of relatively extraneous agency. In relation to the character and power of ideological constructs, the comparison of culturalist neo-Marxism and structuralist neo-Marxism has shown that differences of approach are based on whether analysis admits or masks the material basis of ideological production and efficacy - a fundamental distinction, which can also be traced back through the preceding discussion of theoretical analyses.

At this juncture, I will proceed, in Chapter Eight, to present and discuss an empirical study of the effectiveness of critical transformative ideology in teacher education. I then return, in Chapter Nine, to the discussion of the explanatory value of contemporary theory in relation to recent changes in education policy and in relation to the empirical findings of Chapter Eight..

Notes

1. This concept is developed, for example, in Apple (*passim*); Giroux (1983a, 1989a); Aronowitz and Giroux (1986); Giroux and McLaren (1989); Shor (1986).
2. This analysis, with respect to a range of countries, has also been set out, for example, by Freeland (1979); Apple (1989a, 1989b); Dale (1989a, b); Hill (1990a); and Whitty (1993).
3. Will Hutton's concept of what is, in effect, 'three nations' does not challenge the concept of the two-nation hegemonic project. His concept, set out in *The State We're In* (1994) describes a nation where 40% of the working-age population is in secure and relatively well-paid employment, 30% in insecure, short-term contract employment, with the remaining 30%, the underclass, in precarious very low-paid employment alternating with, or replaced by, unemployment. What is new about the two-nation hegemonic project is that governments (and the majority of the media) court and include in society (include as deserving to benefit from government policy) the ruling class and a section of the ruled classes. On the other hand, sections of the bottom 30% of society are expelled from their benediction.
4. These processes have gone further, and are more clearly observable in Further education. The BEd course I led between 1990 and 1995 was located within Crawley College of Further Education. Within months of the 'incorporation' of FE colleges (i.e. their establishment as autonomous self-financing institutions no longer under local authority control) the whole of the college branch executive of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (NATFHE) had been made redundant. This is by no means unusual. The 'Rank and File' section of NATFHE (the National Association of Teachers and Lecturers in Further and higher Education) regularly reports cases of union activists being victimised because of their Union activities.
5. Ainley, in comments on this thesis (Ainley, 1998) has pointed out that current education policy represents a policy of divide and rule, in which education and training at all levels are heavily implicated. It seeks both to sustain old divisions between a traditional 'middle' and 'working' class and to create new divisions between an uncertificated so-called 'underclass' and the rest. This is the road to a 'certified' and not a 'learning society'. In the new knowledge policy of 'Education Without Jobs' (Ainley, 1993) that has replaced the old approach of 'Training Without Jobs' (Finn, 1986) as an answer to the crisis of deepening and permanent structural mass unemployment, as many people as possible are supposed to stay in or return to Further, Higher and Continuing Education (FHCE). This has led to a chronic qualification inflation/ diploma devaluation and, ironically, it can be asserted that more students are now learning less - though the new Americanised system of FHCE does at least afford opportunities for students who would not previously have been in any form of institutionalised learning to 'drift up' the system as well as to be 'cooled out' of it at a later stage. The hierarchy of learning has been reshaped, however, by Further Education (FE) colleges feeding local and mainly mature students to the former polytechnics and teaching-only universities and colleges with which they are increasingly associated, while an Ivy League of the mainly traditionally academic and research universities recruits standard-age 'oven-ready' students nationally from 'better' state and private schools for graduation and (if they are

lucky enough to find employment) entry to a national or international graduate labour market. These changes in knowledge policy are associated with a shift from a corporate welfare state to a contracting, post-welfare, or workfare state.

6. Peter McLaren describes his brief 'resistance' postmodernism phase as 'flirtations with 'post-Marxism' in some of his writing of the late 1980s (1999a: 179). His recent work, while acknowledging some strengths of some forms of postmodern analysis, is now unashamedly Marxist. See, in particular, McLaren (1997b, 1998a, b, 1999a, b, 2000); McLaren and Farahmandpur (1999, 2000, 2001a, b, c); McLaren, Hill and Cole, (1999); McLaren and Baltodano (2000). For example, he criticizes cultural Marxism for 'de-emphasising the determining role of the economy in the production of hegemonic relations of domination and exploitation and fail[ing] to address a revolutionary praxis that included workers as wage-laborers'. (1999a: 181).

7. Mike Cole and I have dealt at length with our own critique of 'New Times' in Hill (1990a); Hill and Cole (1993, 1996); Cole and Hill (1995, 1996b); see also Cole (1992b).

8. He still does (Giroux, 1999), and has done so since his conversion to post-Marxism announced in his 1992 book, *Border Crossings*. See Hill (1993f) for a review of the last book in which his position was neo-Marxist, *Postmodern Education* (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991). With respect to Gramsci, Benton suggests that Gramsci is the (unacknowledged) source for Althusser's ISAs essay. See Perry Anderson (1976–1977) in *New Left Review*. Buci-Gluckmann, in *Gramsci and the State* (1978) has a very useful discussion of her reading of Gramsci's concept as 'Apparatuses of Philosophical Hegemony', and their similarity to Althusser's ISAs.

9. See, for example, Harris (1979, 1982, 1994); Norrie and Adelman (1989); Hill (1990a, 1999b); Hill and Cole (1993, 1995, 1996); Cole and Hill (1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1999); Cole, Hill and Rikowski (1997); Rikowski (1997); Hill, McLaren, Cole and Rikowski (1999, 2001); Ainley (1999, 2000); Brady and Thorpe (2000); McLaren (2000); McLaren and Farahmandpur (1999, 2000, 2001a,b,c); McLaren, Cole, Hill and Rikowski (2000); Cole, Hill, Rikowski and McLaren (2001). Rikowski does not, in fact, describe himself as a structuralist. He, like Helen Raduntz (1999, 2001), describes his current work (e.g. 1997, 1999a, 2000a, 2001b, e) as 'labour-power theory' (Rikowski, 2000b). However, in assessing his position on issues of relative autonomy and the degree of structural determination of macrodevelopments, I would indeed place him in this category.

10. This is argued by Whitty (1991) and by Hessari and Hill (1989).

11. This is argued in ARTEN (1992); CRE (1993); Clay and George (1993); Hill (1994b, d). It is also one of the major points of this thesis.

12. This is argued by, for example, Barber (1993); Gilroy (1992); Price (1993); Newsam (1993), and in Chapter Two.

Chapter Eight

A CRITICALLY REFLECTIVE COURSE AND ITS EFFECTS: THE LIMITS AND POSSIBILITIES OF IDEOLOGICAL INTERVENTION

In this Chapter, I consider ideological development and transformation as aspects of one specific primary BEd course – the Crawley BEd – and responses to the course from its student teachers and Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs). I combine comparative research data with a wider discussion of evidence and criticism in this field, in order to trace some of the limits, and possibilities, of ideological intervention and transformation within and through a course framework.

The course deliberately attempted to develop Initial Teacher Education with two distinctive characteristics: firstly, a Radical Left course influenced by Marxist and Socialist analysis and commitment to egalitarianism, critical reflection, and economic and social justice; and secondly, a model for Initial Teacher Education enabling theory and practice to inform each other (to a greater extent than two other extant models of ITE).

In general terms, the Crawley BEd departed from other ITE courses validated under the 1989 CATE criteria, in that students spent substantially more time spent in schools than required by the CATE criteria of 1989 (DES, 1989a). Also, it included systematic attempts to theorize and critically analyse school practices.

Specifically, the Crawley BEd course marked a departure from the school-centred detheorized technicist model proposed through the late 1980s and the early 1990s, and implemented via the Conservative government regulations of 1992/1993 (DFE, 1992a,

1993a) and the New Labour regulations (DfEE, 1997a, 1998a) and proposals (DfES, 2001b). (Various of these models are discussed in Furlong et al, 2000) (1).

I refer throughout this Chapter to the *Appendices*, where *Appendix Tables 4 to 11* provide supporting detail.

Part One: The Crawley Primary BEd for Mature and Non-Standard Entry Students – A Radical Left ITE Course

The Crawley Primary BEd four-year, full-time course ran from September 1990 until its replacement by a three-year BA (QTS) for students entering ITE in September 1993. I had led the course development team 1989–1990 at West Sussex Institute of Higher Education. The course was designed in accordance with the 1989 CATE criteria. It was aimed at recruiting from social groups (such as working-class and minority ethnic groups) hitherto under-represented in ITE.

The course ran with three cohorts, those entering in September 1990, 1991 and 1992. The students graduated in 1994, 1995 and 1996. Subsequent cohorts of student teachers studying at the Crawley site, entering in 1993, 1994 and 1995 followed a three-year BA(QTS) programme, the content of which was identical to that at the main campus. Hence, this Chapter refers only to the Crawley BEd and to the WSIHE/ChiHE BEd courses, and not to the BA (QTS) course, which was developed in accordance with Circular 14/93 (DFE, 1993a).

The 106 Mature and Non-Standard Entry BEd students entering the Crawley Primary BEd in September 1990, 1991 and 1992 were taught four days a week at Crawley and travelled on one day a week to a main WSIHE/ ChiHE campus, either at Bognor or Chichester. Most education courses and some professional courses were taught by Radical Left staff. These were selected, *de facto*, by me as course leader (2). The 'Main Subject' courses (i.e. the subject study half of the degree, in English) were taught by a variety of tutors appointed by WSIHE/ChiHE.

As the course leader and also a teacher on the Primary BEd course at Crawley, I related the theoretical and the practical elements of the course more closely to each other than on a number of other contemporary BEd courses. A proportion of college-based professional and education courses were located within school classrooms, with the intention of enhancing both theory and practice within a critical paradigm. This was part of an ideological initiative to establish an alternative to (i) the overwhelmingly college-based BEd/ BA (QTS) model, predominant in the 1980s and 1990s (until the impact of Circular 14/93), and (ii) to the Radical Right's preferred options of overwhelmingly school-based models of ITE. (In Chapter One, I describe such ITE courses – post Circular 14/93 and, in some HEIs, post Circular 14/89 – as non-theorized, non-critical, non-egalitarian).

The Crawley BEd course aimed to provide more days in school than on the WSIHE BEd but *without losing theoretical and critical inputs*. The CATE criteria of 1989 (DES, 1989), under which the WSIHE BEd and its Crawley BEd variant were designed, stipulated that students should spend a minimum of 100 days in school. WSIHE main site BEd students (for example the 1989–94, 1990–94 and 1991–95 cohorts) spent 118.5 days in school. Cohorts one, two and three of the Crawley BEd students spent 143.5 days in school, 25 days more than students on the main campus of WSIHE/ ChiHE. (Subsequently, CATE Circular 14/93 stipulated a minimum of 150 days in school, but this was accompanied by the major reduction in HEI study, in theoretical and critical content, described in Chapter One). The Crawley BEd course can therefore be seen as achieving (virtually) as much school-basing of ITE as with the 1993 CATE criteria, while retaining and deepening critical perspectives and the promotion of critical reflection.

On the Crawley BEd, school-based work was supported in some instances by the development of a handbook with day-by-day tasks, a practice I had seen in use at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside (3). This model of increased time spent in school, without notable reduction of college-based inputs and student experiences, was instrumental in developing Institute expertise in school-based forms of teacher education. Blake, referring to Hill, 1990b, in discussing developments within conventional routes in teacher education – specifically, in fact, the Crawley BEd – notes that

A variety of forms of school-basing have been developed, closely related to college provision and carefully planned routes for class teachers have been negotiated ... it is the careful planning of that time (in school), its systematic integration within the training programme, and the aim of developing critically reflective teachers which are noted as key features. (Blake, 1993: 22).

Programme Philosophy, Aims and Objectives

The August 1995 *Quinquennial Review of the Crawley BEd (Definitive Version)* (ChIHE, 1995) focused specifically on the quality of the Crawley course, and the quality of student educational experiences on the Crawley programme.

The philosophy of the programme was

to develop 'critical reflection', what the February 1992 Quinquennial Review (of the WSIHE BEd) referred to as "the underlying emphasis on critical thought for the reflective practitioner" (para. 9.3.1). (CHIHE, 1995a: 5).

The stated aims and objectives in the definitive Crawley BEd validation document (December 1990) were as follows:

to widen access to higher education in an area which is some distance from a higher education institution and in particular to enable more mature candidates from Crawley and its surrounding areas to train locally as teachers. It is intended to achieve this through a close collaboration between West Sussex Institute of Higher Education (now Chichester Institute of Higher Education), and the Crawley College to resource and *deliver an extension* of the CNAA validated BEd (Honours) Programme. (WSIHE, 1990: para. 1.1, my italics).

It was intended that the courses would be taught collaboratively, wherever possible, using staff and resources from both WSIHE and Crawley College. However, only five staff from Crawley College (of Further Education) taught on the BEd course, due to lack of appropriate academic and/or professional (i.e. school teaching) expertise and experience among Crawley College staff (4).

It was also intended that the course would recruit working-class students and students from minority ethnic groups. The course proved to be highly successful in recruiting students from working-class backgrounds. Of the first five cohorts of the 174 entrants to the Crawley off-main site Centre – i.e. three BEd and two BA(QTS) cohorts – more than half of those willing to identify their social class position identified themselves as 'working class' (cited in CHIHE, 1995a: 6 and in CHIHE, 1995b:Appendix 1). (Of the 158 BEd and BA(QTS) students recruited into the Crawley Centre between 1990 and 1995, 53 identified themselves as 'working class' (34%), 44 as 'middle class' (28%), while 61 (39%) did not self-identify their social class. Also, 59% of the students were the first in their family to have entered higher education, at a time preceding the considerable expansion of higher education that took place in the late 1990s; 56% of the students had left school prior to the age of 18, only 7% after that age; 32% of students entered the BEd/BA(QTS) courses via standard (A level or equivalent) qualifications, 32% through Access courses, and 36% through 'Mature Non-Standard Entry'.

However, only 4% of these students (numbering six in total) were from minority ethnic groups (5).

Crawley BEd and the WSIHE Main site BEd: Similarities and Differences

The Crawley BEd was a typical Radical Left course, whereas in ideological character the WSIHE BEd was a mix of social democratic and liberal-progressive perspectives. Similarities and differences were evident. The course *objectives*, course *outline*, and course *assessment* were identical, but differences arose in *staffing*, *student recruitment*, *delivery of course content* on a week-by-week basis, the *location* of the course, and the *selection of key partner schools*. These are shown by *Table 8.1*, below.

Table 8.1: Crawley BEd and the WSIHE Main site BEd: Similarities and Differences

Similarities	Differences
1. written course unit objectives	1. staffing
2. written course unit general outline	2. location (and support handbook for in-school work)
3. course unit assessment	3. selection of partner schools
	4. delivery (i) detailed weekly sessions (ii) permeation of social justice issues
	5. focus on student recruitment from under-represented groups

The contextual details of these differences are as follows.

Staffing

At Crawley, two staff – the Course Leader and the Deputy Course Leader – taught virtually all the 'education' courses over the four years 1990–1994, on a shared basis. Both of these were (and are) members of the Radical Left Hillcole group. Both were (and are) socialist, as opposed to social democrat/ New Labour; both were (and are, in 2001) committed to anti-racism as opposed to multiculturalism, to anti-sexism as opposed to non-sexism, and to a substantial narrowing of social class inequality, consciously aiming towards a society in which educational and occupational/ financial outcomes are substantially more equal.

In contrast, the tutors at WSIHE/ChIHE main site were ideologically eclectic in their teaching on education courses, one being a Liberal Democrat local Councillor, one a (self-described 'moderate' local Labour Councillor, and at least one a member of the Conservative party. In discussions with them over some years, some were clearly 'social democrat' or, more recently, 'New Labour'. Others were clearly liberal-progressive, arguably the dominant ideology within Primary schooling and teacher education at

WSIHE/ ChiHE (see Chapter Four) and elsewhere (cf. Thomas, 1990; Maguire, 1993; Wilkin, 1996; Furlong et al, 2000; and see Partington, 1999 who, writing for the Radical Right Institute for Economic Affairs, lays more stress on the dominance of 'New Left' activist lecturers within ITE) (6).

Course location

The extra days in school on the Crawley BEd course were achieved in two ways:

1). Education courses

Around 25% of the time on education courses was spent in school. The college contact time for courses was reduced by 25%, as with 'Race, Gender and Classrooms' (RGC) in Year 2, 'Children, Classrooms and Curriculum' (CCC1 and CCC2) in Years 2 and 3, 'Education and Society' in Year 3 and, to a lesser extent (since it was already school-based) IT-INSET ('Initial Training In-Service Education for Teachers'). Staff did not suffer a reduction in contact hourage since the equivalent time was spent in liaison with and overseeing the school-based experience.

2). Professional Curriculum courses

Most professional courses on the Crawley BEd were based *partly* in school, such as Maths in Education, Science in Education, Language in Education, and the professional part of Major Curriculum Studies (MCS) in English, RE and History. Others were based *substantially* in school, such as Primary Curriculum Studies (PCS) in Dance, or *totally* in school (PCS Games, PCS Gymnastics, PCS Athletics, PCS Swimming, PCS Music).

Some Professional Curriculum courses were taught *totally by school teachers* in school: PCS Games, PCS Gymnastics, and PCS Dance. Others, such as PCS Art, were taught by school teachers who previously shadowed and worked with college tutors for a course. Other professional courses such as Maths in Education (1990–1994), PCS Geography (1993–1995) and History (1993–1994) courses were also taught by local school teachers.

Selection of partner schools

At Crawley, as against WSIHE/ChiHE main site, a deliberate attempt was made to place students in schools with an egalitarian democratic ethos (both for student serial school practice, and for their teaching practice). Extensive use was made of four schools that claimed to prioritise equal opportunities. Amongst these, for example, was one of a very small number of schools with a policy document on social class, as well as on 'race' and gender. At another, much priority was given to democratic learning, with a formal dialogue system through which students respond to teachers' marking and reports (nationally, this was one of very few Primary schools with a School Council). In all four schools commitment to (and, where possible, experience of) equal opportunities was an important criterion for the appointment of teaching staff to the school.

Sometimes we (the course deputy leader and I) got it wrong – one school, for example, was selected in the belief that it was a Radical Left school, but was not. (It was the feeder First school for the adjacent radical egalitarian Middle school). Instead, it subsequently appeared to me and to the two final-year students on teaching practice there in 1994–95, that it exhibited a hierarchical set of relationships between staff, and between staff and pupils, with little apparent commitment to, or prioritisation of, an anti-racist or even a multi-cultural education policy, despite an intake that was approximately 20% Asian (7). However, student learning from the *absence* of equal opportunities policy, practice and materials, or the *absence* of democratic staffrooms and classrooms, turned out to be as important as learning from schools which did have these attributes.

Yet students *do* need to have experience of more egalitarian schools in order to make such comparisons. Indeed, the stated and intended course policy was that students should experience different types of schools – working class multi-ethnic, mixed-class, suburban and village schools. Most students on the first three cohorts experienced at least one of each type in their five school experiences (three serial and two block experiences). I attempted to ensure that all students experienced at least one school with Left-wing ideology or ethos.

Other partner schools were selected simply because they appeared to be well run and efficient at promoting pupil learning, and because they appeared to me or my colleagues

to be welcoming to students. Four schools in Horley and Crawley were selected as serial practice schools for groups of students on this basis.

Radical Left, egalitarian schools were identified by political and social contacts, and by professional acquaintance with school policy documents, prospectuses and staff (8). One professional network to aid the identification of egalitarian schools was the Crawley area Equal Opportunities Support Network, a number of whose meetings were hosted by the Deputy Course Leader and myself. We both also participated in local Equal Opportunities 'Training Days' held by Crawley schools. Other professional networks were the Crawley NUT, some of whose meetings I attended, and the Crawley Council for Community Relations (CRE), some of whose meetings and events I attended.

Course delivery and detailed content

The course delivery for the Crawley modules differed from the main site in certain ways:

List of differences in the delivery of the Crawley modules

- the *location* was partly in schools (as described above), and the content was supported by 'critical' concepts and questions in a handbook accompanying the school-based work
- the *weekly focus of delivery* differed from that of the main site in terms of the increased focus of the weekly sessions on contextual, theoretical, and critical concepts, data and approach. This embraced student pre-reading, handouts, references, lectures and student discussions
- there was a greater degree of *permeation* within sessions on the above issues and approaches.

The Deputy Course Leader and I both taught on some of the equivalent courses at the Bognor or Chichester main site, and were thus able to compare approaches, emphases, content and, indeed, resulting assessments such as course essays and exam essays. We both marked sets of assignments from both campuses – the Crawley campus and the main campus of WSIHE/ChIHE, at Bognor/Chichester.

Part Two: A Comparison of the Responses from Crawley and WSIHE/ChIHE Primary BEd Students and Newly Qualified Teachers

I now set out in tabular form the responses by various cohorts of final-year BEd students and NQTs to nineteen of the fifty-five questions on the NQT/student NTIS style questionnaire. The data referred to in this chapter is, therefore, selective and intended to provide a comparison of evaluative responses to the Crawley BEd and to the WSIHE/ChIHE BEd courses. The questions mainly relate to the ideological development of students/ NQTs, with a handful of questions relating to technical performance and one question in which students/ NQTs evaluate their ITE course as a whole.

The Respondents

In the summers of 1994, 1995, 1996 and 1997, all Crawley BEd and all WSIHE/ ChIHE Primary BEd students were given the same questionnaire. Response rates are given in *Table 8.2* (there were no Crawley BEd graduates in 1993). Two neighbouring institutions were also surveyed in summer 1994, one of them again in summer 1995. Results are set out in *Table 8.8* and in *Appendix Tables 6 and 7*. (In these tables the 'all' figure refers to the same type of population as the rest of the figures in the table – namely, Primary BEd/ BA[QTS] student teachers only).

Responses are from WSIHE Primary BEd 1993 graduates, 1994 Crawley and WSIHE graduates, and from 1994, 1995, 1996 and 1997 final-year BEd students from both campuses. (These surveys are part of the larger postal survey referred to in Chapter Three of this thesis)

Below, *Table 8.2* shows response rates from 1993, 1994, 1995 and 1996 WSIHE/ChIHE and 1994, 1995, and 1996 Crawley Primary BEd graduates. The *Appendix Tables 4 and 5* set out question by question responses along the 5-point ranking scale. These also compare responses from the Crawley and WSIHE/ ChIHE Primary BEd courses with those of all NQTs surveyed in the period 1989–1994. The final figures in each table refer to the survey response from *all* BEd/BA (QTS) and Postgraduate,

Primary and Secondary NQTs surveyed between 1989 and 1994. (This figure includes Secondary and Primary PGCE as well as undergraduates.)

Table 8.2: Comparative course Evaluation by Crawley BEd trained Newly Qualified Teachers and Student Teachers – Number of Respondents

	1993 Graduates surveyed in Spring, 1994	1994 Graduates surveyed in Spring, 1995	1995 Graduates surveyed, Summer 1996	1994 Final- year students surveyed in Summer 1994	1995 Final year students surveyed in Summer 1995	1996 Final-year students surveyed in Summer, 1996
<i>WSIHE/ ChIHE Main site</i>	24	44	44	21	84	104
Crawley Site	Not applicable	16	10	19	26	23

Analysis of Responses: the Main Features

The NQT and student data up to March 1997 clearly shows that Crawley NQTs consider themselves better prepared than WSIHE main site NQTs in some respects, and worse prepared in others.

In a total of seven areas, Crawley students considered themselves better prepared or better satisfied with the balance of courses, as shown in *Tables 8.3* and *Tables 8.4*. For Crawley NQTs (*Table 8.3a*) and for Crawley students (*Table 8.3b*), four of these areas were preparation for teaching 'children from different cultural backgrounds', 'socially deprived children', 'equal opportunities for boys and girls' and 'maths'. The other three areas in which the Crawley NQTs (*Table 8.4a*) and Crawley students (*Table 8.4b*) were more satisfied than WSIHE and ChIHE NQTs and students were in the course emphasis

on 'teaching practice', 'critical questioning and evaluating current practice and developments in education', and 'democratic participative pedagogy' (teaching and learning methods).

Table 8.3(a): Four Aspects for which Crawley NQTs feel Better Prepared/ More Satisfied than WSIHE/ChIHE NQTs

(This shows the percentage of respondents considering themselves *very well prepared or well prepared to teach* – i.e. ranking 1 or 2 in the 5-point satisfaction scale)

	Crawley NQTs 1995 n=10	Crawley NQTs 1994 n=16	ChIHE NQTs 1995 n=44	WSIHE NQTs 1994 n=44	WSIHE NQTs 1993 n=24	ALL Primary BEd. NQTs n=479
Q7m. Children from different cultural backgrou nds	30%	87%	38%	52%	34%	43%
Q7n. Socially deprived children	30%	63%	36%	39%	47%	37%
Q7o. Equal oppor- tunities for girls and boys	90%	94%	70%	77%	81%	77%
Q7q.. Maths	10%	69%	39%	54%	61%	50%

(Note: The ALL figure includes Primary BEd data from Southtown University and Suburb College as well as Crawley and WSIHE and ChIHE.)

Table 8.3(b): Four Aspects for which Crawley Students feel Better Prepared/ More Satisfied than WSIHE/ChIHE Students

(This shows the percentage of respondents considering themselves *very well prepared or well prepared to teach* – i.e. ranking 1 or 2 in the 5-point satisfaction scale)

	Crawley Students 1996 n=23	Crawley Students 1995 n=26	Crawley Students 1994 n=19	ChIHE Students 1996 n=104	ChIHE Students 1995 n=84	WSIHE Students 1994 n=21	ALL Primary BEd Students 1993–1996 n=423
Q7m. Children from different cultural back- grounds	39%	40%	47%	10%	20%	33%	25%
Q7n. Socially deprived children	26%	40%	42%	30%	14%	33%	29%
Q7o. Equal oppor- tunities for girls and boys	95%	80%	89%	56%	60%	66%	67%
Q7q. Maths	30%	44%	84%	43%	36%	72%	46%

(Note: The ALL figure includes Primary BEd data from Southtown University and Suburb College as well as Crawley and WSIHE and ChIHE.)

Table 8.4(a): Three Aspects for which Crawley NQTs are More Satisfied with the Emphasis given than WSIHE/ChIHE NQTs

(Showing the percentage of respondents considering themselves *satisfied with the emphasis* – i.e. response number three on the questionnaire)

	Crawley NQTs 1995 n=10	Crawley NQTs 1994 n=16	ChIHE NQTs 1995 n=44	WSIHE NQTs 1994 n=44	WSIHE NQTs 1993 n=24	ALL Primary BEd NQTs 1993–1996 n=479
Q8e Teaching practice	50%	75%	52%	36%	54%	52%
Q8q Critical questioning and evaluating current practice/ developments in education	60%	75%	68%	64%	78%	61%
Q8 Democratic participative pedagogy (teaching and learning methods)	40%	56%	53%	45%	48%	55%

Table 8.4(b): Three Aspects for which Crawley Students are More Satisfied with the Emphasis given than WSIHE/ChIHE Students

(Showing the percentage of respondents considering themselves *satisfied* with the emphasis – i.e. response number three on the questionnaire)

	Crawley Students 1996 n=23	Crawley Students 1995 n=26	Crawley Students 1994 n=19	ChIHE Students 1996 n=104	ChIHE Students 1995 n=84	WSIHE Students 1994 n=21	ALL Primary BEd Students 1993–6 n=423
Q8e Teaching practice	61%	53%	57%	54%	46%	29%	53%
Q8q Critical questioning and evaluating current practice/ developments in education	87%	85%	74%	61%	65%	67%	62%
Q8 Democratic participative pedagogy (teaching and learning methods)	83%	54%	74%	72%	49%	47%	62%

In four areas (shown in *Tables 8.5*), Crawley NQTs (*Table 8.5a*) and Crawley students (*Table 8.5b*) considered themselves worse prepared or less satisfied with the balance of their courses – in preparation for 'teaching special needs', 'planning a programme of work', 'classroom management' and 'teaching reading'.

Table 8.5(a): Four Aspects for which Crawley NQTs feel Worse Prepared/ Less Satisfied than WSIHE/ ChiHE NQTs

This shows the percentage of respondents considering themselves very well prepared or well prepared to teach:

	Crawley NQTs 1995 n=10	Crawley NQTs 1994 n=16	ChiHE NQTs 1995 n=44	WSIHE NQTs 1994 n=44	WSIHE NQTs 1993 n=24	ALL Primary BEd NQTs n=479
Q7l.. Special needs	10%	25%	27%	32%	34%	32%
Q7a.. Planning a programme of work	30%	19%	54%	61%	66%	58%
Q7b.. Classroom management	30%	44%	52%	55%	52%	51%
Q7p.. Reading	10%	26%	43%	40%	43%	33%

Table 8.5(b): Four Aspects for which Crawley Students feel Worse Prepared/ Less Satisfied than WSIHE/ ChiHE Students

	Crawley Students 1996 n=23	Crawley Students 1995 n=26	Crawley Students 1994 n=19	ChiHE Students 1996 n=104	ChiHE Students 1995 n=84	WSIHE Students 1994 n=21	ALL Primary BEd Students n=423
Q7l Special needs	30%	4%	11%	27%	23%	44%	27%

(Continued overleaf)

Table 8.5(b): Four Aspects for which Crawley Students feel Worse Prepared/ Less Satisfied than WSIHE/ ChiHE Students (Continued)

	Crawley Students 1996 n=23	Crawley Students 1995 n=26	Crawley Students 1994 n=19	ChiHE Students 1996 n=104	ChiHE Students 1995 n=84	WSIHE Students 1994 n=21	ALL Primary BEd Students n=423
Q7a. Planning a programme of work	65%	23%	47%	69%	46%	51%	58%
Q7b. Classroom management	52%	12%	41%	53%	47%	52%	48%
Q7p. Reading	66%	20%	37%	65%	43%	44%	52%

There are no appreciable differences between Crawley and WSIHE/ ChiHE respondents, in respect of satisfaction with the course emphasis on the three variables – 'anti-racism', 'anti-sexism', and 'social egalitarianism' (as shown by *Tables 8.6a and 8.6b*).

Table 8.6 (a): Three Aspects for which Crawley NQTs feel Similarly Prepared/ Similarly Satisfied as WSIHE/ChiHE NQTs

	Crawley NQTs 1995 n=10	Crawley NQTs 1994 n=16	ChiHE NQTs 1995 n=44	WSIHE NQTs 1994 n=44	WSIHE NQTs 1993 n=24	ALL Primary BEd. NQTs n=479
Q8f Anti-racism	40%	63%	68%	73%	75%	62%
Q8g Anti-sexism	50%	63%	64%	75%	79	62%

(Continued overleaf)

**Table 8.6 (a): Three Aspects for which Crawley NQTs feel Similarly Prepared/
Similarly Satisfied as WSIHE/ChiHE NQTs (Continued)**

	Crawley NQTs 1995 n=10	Crawley NQTs 1994 n=16	ChiHE NQTs 1995 n=44	WSIHE NQTs 1994 n=44	WSIHE NQTs 1993 n=24	ALL Primary BEd. NQTs n=479
Q8h Social egalitarianism	30%	44%	82%	66%	75%	61%

**Table 8.6 (b): Three Aspects for which Crawley Students feel Similarly Prepared/
Similarly Satisfied as WSIHE/ChiHE students**

	Crawley Students 1996 n=23	Crawley Students 1995 n=26	Crawley Students 1994 n=19	ChiHE Students 1996 n=104	ChiHE Students 1995 n=84	WSIHE Students 1994 n=21	ALL Primary BEd. Students n=423
Q8f Anti- racism	78%	65%	58%	42%	60%	52%	55%
Q8g Anti- sexism	61%	69%	63%	44%	67%	57%	57%
Q8h Social egalitar- ianism	65%	62%	68%	38%	59%	67%	52%

There are also no appreciable differences in the evaluation by Crawley and WSIHE/ChiHE main site students in respect of 'preparation to teach own subject specialism', 'emphasis on education studies', 'emphasis on child development' and 'emphasis on the importance of theory in ITE courses' (see Table 8.9, below, for examples).

This 'New Teacher in School' data shows that the 'Radical Left' intentions of the Crawley BEd were achieved in terms of student satisfaction with preparation for teaching, in particular, children from different cultural backgrounds and socially deprived children (*Tables 8.3*). *On issues of equality (as shown in Tables 8.3 and 8.6 above) the Crawley course was notably more successful than courses in general, and more successful than the WSIHE/ ChiHE BEd courses in particular.*

The *Tables* also show, of course, that the Crawley course was less successful in a number of non-ideological respects. Those respects are important in that, however 'ideologically sound' or 'transformative' or 'radical left' such NQTs/students are, if they are also technically inefficient they will not be able to 'deliver the goods' with effective teaching. (The ideological focus of this analysis precludes considering all fifty-five variables/questions on the questionnaire, which would make it possible to evaluate effectively the comparative levels of satisfaction of these students/NQTs across a much wider range of 'technical skills'.) Overall levels of satisfaction are shown in *Tables 8.7 and 8.8 below*, with much more extensive data shown in *Appendix Tables 4, 5, 6 and 7*.

Table 8.7: Primary Undergraduate 'trained' NQT course evaluation: overall satisfaction with ITE course

		Crawley		WSIHE/ ChiHE Main Site			All 4yr Prim NQTs	All NQTs
		1995 n=10	1994 n=16	1995 n=44	1994 n=44	1993 n=24	1989– 1996 n=479	1989– 1996 n=1159
Q6. Satisfaction with the ITE Course	well satisfied	10%	13%	21%	27%	17%	14%	16%
	reasonably well satisfied	40%	53%	53%	50%	63%	57%	52%

(Continued overleaf)

Table 8.7: Primary Undergraduate 'trained' NQT course evaluation: overall satisfaction with ITE course (Continued)

		Crawley		WSIHE/ ChIHE Main Site			All 4yr Prim NQTs	All NQTs
		1995	1994	1995	1994	1993	1989 –1996	1989 –1996
		n=10	n=16	n=44	n=44	n=24	n=479	n=1159
Q6	moderately satisfied	20%	27%	21%	18%	8%	25%	27%
	less than satisfied	30%	7%	2%	2%	8%	3%	4%
	dissatisfied	0%	0%	2%	2%	4%	1%	1%

(Note : The ALL figure refers to all 1159 NQTs surveyed between 1989 and 1996. This includes Postgraduate as well as Undergraduate 'trained' NQTs, and Secondary as well as Primary. This is a repeat of *Table 3.2a* in Chapter Three)

Table 8.8: Primary Undergraduate Student Teacher Final Year Course Evaluation: overall satisfaction with ITE course

This shows the response to Question 6, on 'Satisfaction with the ITE course'.

	Crawley			WSIHE Main Site			[South Coast University.]		ALL Prim-ary Ugrad	ALL Primary & Sec Ugrad & Postgrad
Year	1994 n=19	1995 n=26	1996 n=23	1994 n=21	1995 n=84	1996 n=104	1994 n=62	1995 n=84	1994-1996 n=423	ALL 1994-1996 n= 497
Well satis-fied	6%	8%	19%	0%	5%	16%	5%	5%	8%	9%
Reason-ably well satisfie d	61%	50%	52%	65%	44%	72%	54%	52%	57%	56%
Mod-erately satisfie d	28%	31%	24%	25%	49%	12%	36%	34%	30%	30%
Less than satisfie d	0%	12%	5%	10%	1%	1%	5%	9%	4%	4%
Dis-satis-fied	6%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Ideological Value Added: the Effect of Course Ideology on Student Teacher and NQT Ideology.

To assess whether course ideologies make any difference to Student Teacher and NQT ideologies, I now want to compare the responses of Crawley and of WSIHE/ChiHE NQTs and student teachers to a series of fifteen questions, designed to elicit ideological perspectives.

Respondents were questioned as to what should be emphasized in a course of Initial Teacher Education. For example, sample questions are about how much emphasis (on a Likert ranking scale of 1 to 5) should be placed on becoming a teacher who is a 'transformative intellectual', how much emphasis on anti-racism, on social egalitarianism, on critically questioning and evaluating current practice and developments in education. A high emphasis on these aspects of ITE (together with other responses) would be taken to show a Left-wing, egalitarian, critical perspective or ideology. Other questionnaire items relate to the emphasis required on delivering the National Curriculum subjects, using formal methods as opposed to informal teaching methods, and child development. A full list of the fifteen questionnaire items appears in *Appendix Table 8*.

For this aspect of analysis, five cohorts of Primary undergraduate NQTs and seven cohorts of final-year undergraduate student teachers were surveyed: Crawley and WSIHE NQTs who graduated in 1994, the Crawley, ChiHE and South Coast University student teachers who were in their final year in Spring 1995, and the Crawley and ChiHE student teachers who were in their final term in Summer 1996. The mean response for each cohort to each of the fifteen questions is set out in *Appendix Tables 8 and 9*.

It can be seen that six of the seven cohorts gave the highest priority/ highest degree of emphasis to 'teaching practice'. Evaluating their own opinions *prior to starting* the ITE course, all gave the lowest degree of priority/degree of emphasis to 'using formal methods of education as opposed to informal teaching methods' and to 'becoming a teacher who is a transformative intellectual (transforming children's view of society in favour of social justice)'. There are a number of differences in the responses of the various cohorts, yet NQTs and student teachers were also asked to grade their opinions at the time of being surveyed – that is, in the eleventh or twelfth term of their twelve

term course (student teachers) or two terms (or three in the case of 1996 graduates) after they had graduated (NQTs). In this way the *change* in grading over the period of time of the course could be determined.

The *Appendix Tables 8 and 9* show that the five cohorts gave a lower rating of emphasis to most of the variables at the end of their course than they did at the beginning, although the largest 'before and after' changes effectively bring the responses to an overall mean, ironing out the differences between the cohorts' responses. This is shown by *Appendix Table 10*, which compares the differences between the Crawley and the WSIHE/ ChiHE responses prior to the course with the differences between the Crawley and the WSIHE/ ChiHE responses after or at the end of the course. Here, responses to the emphasis on 'becoming a teacher who is a transformative intellectual' (question 14), show that Crawley NQTs and Crawley students were clearly more committed to this aspect, or wanted a higher emphasis on it, than WSIHE/ ChiHE NQTs and students 'prior to the course'. Yet at the end of their courses, the response of Crawley students to this question was virtually identical to that of the WSIHE/ ChiHE respondents.

This was not true, however, for the third cohort of Crawley BEd students (the first year surveyed) in the summer of 1996. These began their course marginally more radical than the ChiHE students (as measured by the question of giving a higher priority to anti-racism, anti-sexism, social egalitarianism, and to becoming a teacher who is a transformative intellectual). By the end of the course, they had become markedly more radical on all of these issues.

The *Appendix Table 8* shows the largest difference between cohorts at the beginning of the course, in the recorded response to issue 12 – 'critically questioning and evaluating current practice and developments in education'. The Crawley NQT mean ranking was 2.13 (column 1) compared to a WSIHE mean ranking of 2.67 (column 4). Since a higher emphasis is indicated on the Table by a lower ranking score, Crawley NQTs at the beginning of this course (retrospectively assessed) considered that their ITE course should emphasise this aspect more than did WSIHE NQTs. The mean difference was 0.54. However, by the end of the course the Crawley mean ranking for this question showed a decline in emphasis to a mean ranking of 3.00 (col. 2). on the scale of 1.0

(indicating highest importance) to 5.0 (indicating lowest importance). WSIHE NQTs also showed a decline in emphasis for this attribute, to a 2.81 mean score (col.5).

The relative change in the mean ranking between the two cohorts is shown in *Appendix Table 10*. For question 14, Crawley NQTs gave a 0.54 higher ranking at the beginning of the course, whereas by the end of it they gave a similar ranking to the WSIHE cohort (as shown in columns 2 and 3). A diminution in emphasis is recorded, over the period of the course, of 0.73 of a rank ordering when comparing Crawley and WSIHE NQTs (col. 4). For student teachers the parallel figure is -0.21 (col. 7).

Analysis of Ideological Value Added Data.

Crawley NQTs, evaluating retrospectively, rated all but two of the fifteen characteristics more highly (in terms of the emphasis each should receive on an ITE course) than did WSIHE NQTs (the two exceptions being the importance of 'developing the National Curriculum subjects' and 'using formal as opposed to informal teaching methods'). Similarly, 1995 Crawley students (evaluating retrospectively their opinions at the beginning of their course) placed all but three of the fifteen characteristics (in terms of the emphasis each should receive on all ITE courses) more highly than did ChiHE students (the three exceptions were 'delivery of the National Curriculum', 'teaching children with special needs' and 'classroom observation'). When compared to the 'control' group of Southtown University Primary BEd students, Crawley students expressed a desire for a higher emphasis on nine of the fifteen aspects. Thus, it can be seen that *Crawley students and Newly Qualified Teachers on entry to their courses rated most aspects as needing a higher emphasis* than did WSIHE/ ChiHE entrants and South Coast University entrants.

In various dimensions, Crawley 1994 NQTs *started* their courses particularly rating emphases on 'social egalitarianism', 'being a transformative intellectual', 'using democratic teaching and learning methods', and 'critically questioning current practice and developments in education', more highly than WSIHE 1994 NQTs. When they had *finished* the course, however, they ranked the importance of these aspects – indeed, all fifteen aspects – *similarly* to WSIHE 1994 NQTs.

The responses of 1995 student teachers are similar to NQT responses. Crawley 1995 students ranked a number of dimensions – anti-racism, social egalitarianism, democratic methodology and transformative teaching – more highly at the beginning of the course than did ChiHE 1995 students. However, at the end of the course their ratings were very similar to ChiHE 1995 student teachers.

As noted above though, the Crawley 1996 students were even more radical than the ChiHE students at the end of the course, than they had been at the beginning This is shown very clearly below, in *Table 8.9*, where six cohorts (of NQTs and final-year student teachers) are shown, with the Crawley 1996 student response (column 5) indicating considerably more radicalism near the end of their course than any of the other cohorts. (Again, this applies to the importance they ascribe to emphasis on social egalitarianism, being a transformative intellectual, using democratic teaching and learning methods, on anti-racism and anti-sexism).

Table 8.9: NQT and Student Teacher rankings of the Importance, after/near the end of their courses, of Selected Aspects for Inclusion on ITE courses

(Rankings are on a 1 to 5 scale where 1 = high emphasis, 5 = no emphasis at all)

	NQTs		Student Teachers			
	Crawley NQTs, graduated 1995	WSIHE NQTs, graduated. 1995	Crawley Students, (Year 4) 1995	ChiHE Students (Year 4) 1995	Crawley Students (Year 4) 1996	ChiHE Students (Year 4) 1996
Social egalitarianism	3.73	3.31	2.74	2.91	1.95	2.46
Being a transformative intellectual	3.27	3.40	3.11	3.05	2.21	2.64
Using democratic teaching and learning methods	2.93	2.72	2.37	2.61	1.91	2.16

(Continued overleaf)

Table 8.9: NQT and Student Teacher rankings of the Importance, after/near the end of their courses, of Selected Aspects for Inclusion on ITE courses (Continued)

(Rankings are on a 1 to 5 scale where 1 = high emphasis, 5 = no emphasis at all)

	NQTs		Student Teachers			
	Crawley NQTs, graduated 1995	WSIHE NQTs, graduated. 1995	Crawley Students, (Year 4) 1995	ChIHE Students (Year 4) 1995	Crawley Students (Year 4) 1996	ChIHE Students (Year 4) 1996
Critically questioning current practice and developments in education	3.0	2.81	2.58	2.39	1.65	2.21
Anti-racism	3.47	3.21	2.63	2.80	1.91	2.31
Anti-sexism	3.27	3.24	2.63	2.85	1.82	2.36
Education studies	2.53	2.54	2.00	2.11	2.00	1.97
Teaching practice	1.47	1.43	1.37	1.40	1.52	1.22
Delivering the NC subject	1.33	1.47	1.53	1.55	1.69	2.38

Remarkably, most cohorts of NQTs and student teachers, by the end of their courses, agree on what they consider important in ITE courses to a considerable extent, and regardless of the particular ITE course followed. This is most apparent in *Table 8.9*, which highlights the similarity of Crawley and WSIHE NQT/student teacher responses to nine course aspects, extracted from *Appendix Tables 8 and 9*. This was not true however of the 'radicalized' 1992–1996 cohort of Crawley student teachers.

A question therefore arises here, about why the Crawley 1996 student teacher cohort was more radicalized at the end of the course than the other cohorts of student and

newly qualified teachers. The only major difference in the course followed by the Crawley 1996 student teacher cohort was that the Course Leader and Deputy Course Leader, the two 'Radical Left' core staff referred to above (under the heading *Staffing*) left the course for, respectively, the final year, and the final two terms of the four-year course. (9)

Informal interviews carried out with members of this cohort indicate that they found a pronounced difference between what they saw as the relatively dynamic, politicized and socially contextualized nature of their course under the former 'Radical Left' leadership, and what they saw as a more downbeat, technicist leadership for the final two terms of their course. The experience of contrast may have been informative, yet it would be ironic indeed if the relative success of the 'Radical Left' transformation of student teachers were to continue to depend on the dismissal and removal of Radical Left staff near the end of the course, and on the subsequent conservatism of the ITE curriculum following three years of (left) radicalization.

Conclusion

One major conclusion is available from the 'New Teacher in School' and 'Ideological Value Added' data set out in this Chapter: respondents from both courses agree, substantially, by the end of their courses, *on what they consider important aspects of ITE course*. The Crawley and the WSIHE/ ChiHE respondents do not agree, however, *on the adequacy of their courses in preparing them for teaching*.

In other words, the overall comparative data shows that NQTs and final-year students from different courses (other than the Crawley 1996 student cohort) substantially agree at the end of their courses on what should be or should have been included, and what degree of emphasis various aspects should be given in ITE courses. Yet their evaluations of how well their courses match or matched up to these fairly common expectations *does vary considerably*. This is to say that students and NQTs differ considerably on how well they have been prepared for teaching.

The question arises of *who* may have been influenced by the course ideology – students or NQTs in general, or a select number, who 'get turned on' by the ideology? Although this reaction could be counterbalanced by those who 'get turned off', more extensive analysis of course effectiveness might need to consider effects on a whole cohort of students, or on a cadre, a vanguard ideological elite whose subsequent life, material and work practice might be informed by – and inform – democratic, egalitarian schooling and political activism.

This data shows that the end-of-course ideologies of the various cohorts (expressed in terms of the emphasis they would have placed on various aspects of their ITE courses) appear fairly similar (despite differing ideological perspectives at the beginning). Yet in the eyes of NQTs and student teachers, the 'Radical Left' Crawley BEd course left them better prepared for major aspects of egalitarian schooling,

In support of my own research, there is other evidence that teacher educators influence the attitudes of their charges. For example, MacLeish (1970) undertook a large-scale study of attitude change amongst student teachers, and concluded 'We must ... assume that the colleges influence their students towards radicalism (in respect to educational values) ... the change being also in the direction of the views of lecturers'. In a similarly positive finding, Reid (1980) developed a typology of teachers' responses to the teaching of social class, ranging from rejection (both rational and emotional), through to accommodation and neutrality and on to assimilation and conversion. While accommodation and neutrality remained the most common responses, rejection (of the concepts presented) declined. (Cited in Reid, 1993:114).

These minor overall effects on student teachers and NQTs noted above by MacLeish and Reid, and by my own findings, can now be related to the post 1992/93 change in ITE – the move to more classroom-based ITE.

Calderhead notes the 'potentially conservative effects of a greater involvement of classroom teachers in the training process' (1988:2). It could be argued, however, that with appropriate support, some increase in the school-centred and school-based component of undergraduate ITE courses could provide a more appropriate immersion into the practices of teaching, learning and schooling, and facilitate, organize and

encourage the application of theory to practice and practice to theory. Yet this application is diminishing. The intensification of lecturers' work has meant that the time allocated to tutors for each teaching-practice student has been reduced substantially.

For example, at WSIHE in the 1980s an eight-week PGCE block teaching practice used to merit eight tutor visits. This was cut to five by 1996. The final year BEd teaching practice of nine weeks used to merit nine tutor visits, by 1996 it merited six. Also, in the Autumn and Spring Terms of 1995/1996 ChiHE link tutors were allocated thirty minutes instead of one hour for each observation visit per student. These reductions in actual contact time between HEI tutors and students inevitably reduce the ability to relate theory and practice to each other. Furthermore, many HEIs (including ChiHE) moved by the late 1990s towards a system where most block teaching practices are mentored by school teachers. Even when these work well, it appears that school teacher/mentor advice and feedback to students is less likely to relate theory to practice than that given by HEI tutors. (Whether or not it is more informed on other aspects is an issue for separate discussion).

Zeichner and Liston (1987) suggest that to develop reflective practice also requires a supportive environment, that in order to develop as reflective practitioners novice teachers require a supportive collaborative staff culture. Tabachnik and Zeichner (1991a) make similar comments. For Smyth, 'one of the major limitations' of what he terms 'clinical supervision as it is generally conceived' is the way 'it is frequently construed ... as a means by which teachers can "turn a blow torch on themselves"' (Smyth, 1986: 77), whereas

acting critically refers to '*collaboration* in marshalling intellectual capacity so as to focus on analysing, reflecting on, and engaging in discourse about the nature and effects of practical aspects of teaching and how they might be altered. (Smyth, 1985: 9, my italics).

I have argued elsewhere that, prior to the CATE 1992 Secondary and 1993 Primary criteria (which increased the amount of school-basing within BEd/BA[QTS] and PGCE courses), students on ITE courses had been spending too little time in schools. This is not to accept the over-reliance and over-emphasis on school-based and school-centred ITE, characteristic of Conservative government rhetoric and policies in the late 1980s

and early 1990s (see Hill, 1991a; 1994a; c, d; 1996a). Rather, my observations are that this aspect of teaching practice – of schools and class teachers insisting more on student teachers emulating their own practice – has become far more pronounced since the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1988. Together with most teachers, most student teachers now have far less autonomy over both content and pedagogy than in the 1970s and 1980s.

Moreover, on the Crawley BEd course as on any other, there is a problematic relationship between assessment and concern for success. 'If student teachers know they are going to be assessed by their tutors or by their supervising mentors, they may be much more reluctant to confide in them and discuss their concerns and difficulties openly'. (McIntyre, 1993:45–46). In other words, they tend to give what they assume to be 'ideologically correct' answers. In my own experience of some years of marking essays on the contextual and ideological issues in education, the percentage of Radical Right-wing answers was infinitesimal, whereas the percentage of Liberal-democratic answers/assignments was pronounced. The percentage of Radical Left-wing answers/assignments was also small. Students have rarely strayed in their written assignment more than a few notches to the right of what they perceive to be my own views. However, I can still recognize that, in seeking to facilitate the development of my own student teachers (e.g. on the Crawley BEd course) as transformative intellectuals, the effectiveness of such a transformation might have been increased had the pedagogy allowed for students to 'own' their theoretical development more.

A pedagogy involving more self-expression, more democratic learning, more 'space' for student theory *might* have made a difference. On the other hand, the consistently higher marks gained by Crawley BEd students – commonly on average 4% higher than main site BEd students on their education course assessments (such as for 'Race, Gender and Classrooms', 'Education and Society', and 'Children, Classroom and Curriculum' courses). – show the attainment of greater theoretical sophistication and awareness. (Essays and exams had the same markers for both Crawley and main site, and were cross-marked and moderated by tutors from both sites). The higher marks may well also have been related, in part, to the fact that 100% of the Crawley Students were 'mature' students on entry (i.e. over 21 years old), compared to around a 33% of the Primary BEd students at WSIHE/ChiHE.

A similar caution is raised by Skelton (1987), observing that initial teacher training programmes do little to promote student teachers' awareness of discriminatory practices in the classroom. After researching a Primary Post Graduate Certificate in Education course in a college of education, Skelton found her qualitative data showed that student teachers tended to absorb messages which, rather than dismantle views about gender discrimination, actually promoted it. Student teachers learned, via the hidden curriculum, that they should expect to find differences in the capabilities, attitudes and behaviour of boys and girls in the primary classroom. This information reinforced a common 'knowledge' about boys and girls.

Yet the effects of policy in the increase in classroom-based ITE do not so much deny that spaces for autonomy exist (therefore enabling resistance by teachers and by student teachers), so much as stress how those spaces have been restricted (10). Crucially, critical reflection is a defining characteristic of teachers who attempt to be transformative intellectuals. Radical Left educators argue, with Troyna and Sikes, that:

Training students to be mere functionaries in our schools rather than educating them to assume a more creative and, dare we say it, critical role is precisely the name of the game at the moment. But should we abandon pre-service education courses entirely and hand the reins over entirely to practising teachers? We think not. (Troyna and Sikes, 1989: 26).

This view is based on research evidence suggesting that:

many teachers continue, consciously or otherwise, to make important decisions about the organization, orientation, and delivery of the formal and informal curricula on grounds which are racist, sexist and discriminatory in a range of significant ways. Should we, therefore, succumb to a system of teacher education/training in which these practices could well be reproduced systematically? Or should we, instead, develop pre-service courses geared towards the development of a teaching force which reflects in a critical manner on taken-for-granted assumptions, which can articulate reasons for contesting some of the conventional wisdoms about pupils, their interests and abilities, and which, ultimately, might influence future cohorts? In short, shouldn't we be encouraging students to be intellectual about being practical? (idem).

In this chapter I have traced, through research of one specific primary BEd course, the effect of course ideology on students and Newly Qualified Teacher (NQT) ex-students. By relating the analysis of findings to a wider appraisal of evidence in this field, I have shown some of the real limits, and some of the real possibilities too, of curricular ideological intervention.

These limitations include the school acculturation process, and the need for NQTs and student teachers to survive by concentrating particularly on the material aspects of their work practice – on effective teaching, class control, motivation techniques, lesson preparation and marking (see Calderhead and Gates, 1993: 3–4). Undoubtedly, these factors are *part* of an explanation for the limited effectiveness of transformative courses. I have also shown, in this Chapter, the limitations on counter-hegemonic, subversive, resistant curricular intervention – in this particular case, within the Ideological State Apparatus of Initial Teacher Education.

It is apparent, therefore, that limitations on transformative approaches occur *within* ideological state apparatuses (such as ITE), as well as being effected *by* them.

Yet when this specific research is linked to the historical restructuring of ITE, then the limitation of opportunity for transformative egalitarian teaching, as well as the recorded level of success it achieved at Crawley, are both clear indications of the hegemonic ideological intervention, formally and forcibly imposed (by legal requirement) upon schools and ITE, through Conservative state policy and the development of Radical Right strategy since 1979 (as defined in Chapters One, Two and Five).

As I have shown (Chapter Three), the Radical Right did not persuade the education community of the rationale for its restructuring. It did not gain consent. It did not achieve hegemonic acceptance for the Initial Teacher Education part or facet of its Thatcherite ideology. Yet it *has* re-structured the curriculum, the organization, the location, the funding, and the staffing of ITE, consent or not. And 'New Labour' has accepted this Conservative settlement.

I suggest, therefore, that the close relationship between the state and government, and between capital and the state, must be central to any contemporary theory seeking to explain the reform of teacher education in England and Wales since the late 1970s.

At this point, I can return to the analysis of postmodernist, quasi-postmodernist, Culturalist neo-Marxist, and Structuralist neo-Marxist explanations of the state and its ideological and repressive state apparatuses. In Chapter Nine, I will attempt to substantiate a suitably materialist analysis and understanding of ideological intervention.

Notes

1. Furlong et al note that by 1991 'of the four-year undergraduate courses that were required to provide at least 100 days of school-based training, a third offered more than 30 % above this amount' (2000:30). In their discussion of 'Models of Integration - professionalism re-formed?' (2000: 60–64), the Crawley BEd would be typified as a Model B type course, where

there was still a relatively weak school base, though there was a more sustained attempt to ensure that at least some aspects of the course were jointly devised and jointly led [*by teacher educators and teachers*]. This was the philosophy of Initial Training-In-service Education of Teachers (IT-INSET) (Everton and Impey, 1989) which represented a distinct curriculum approach to integration ... topics ... were planned and led in schools by teams of teachers and lecturers [*and students*] working together ... Despite the involvement of teachers, however, the training as a whole remained firmly controlled by the college; it was they who constructed the course and located the opportunities for collaborative work within it. Moreover, the intention of the collaborative work was not necessarily to induct students into the work of a particular school. In comparison with more recently developed school-based models [*e.g. those following the regulations of 1992/93 and since*] the aims were more generally conceived. ... it was the task of the tutor to place that learning in a broader framework for the student (Furlong et al, 2000: 62. Italicised words in parentheses are my additions to the text).

Their models (with my exemplars in italics) are as follows:

	Integrated models			
Traditional HEI-led models <i>[e.g. 1970s, many 1980s ITE courses]</i>	HEI-led/ school-focused agenda	Weak school base A	Strong school base C <i>[e.g. Articled Teachers]</i>	New school-led models <i>[e.g. Licensed Teachers]</i>
	Jointly led/ joint agenda	B <i>[e.g. IT-INSET]</i>	D <i>[e.g. courses post 1992/93 criteria]</i>	

(Furlong et al, 2000:61. My additions in italics).

2. In terms of Academic and Professional Standards for the Programme, the academic attainment by the three cohorts of Crawley BEd students was slightly higher than that for the WSIHE /ChiHE Main site (based) students, in both academic study and professional work. On average, at the end of their courses the Crawley student marks were 2% higher than for WSIHE/ ChiHE Main site (based) Primary BEd students in all three cohorts. Over the three cohorts, the percentage of Crawley BEd students gaining first class and upper second class honours degrees was significantly higher than for WSIHE/

ChiHE-based students. Performance on teaching practice, measured by the percentage of distinctions and the percentage pass rate, was approximately the same for the first cohort at Crawley as for their WSIHE/ ChiHE peers. Performance on final teaching practice for the second and third cohorts of students was markedly superior to that of their WSIHE/ ChiHE peers (20% gaining distinctions, as contrasted with 10% at BOC/BRC in 1995, and 25% as contrasted with 12% in 1996). The success rate of the Crawley-based students in gaining teaching posts has been remarkable – 27 of the first set of 32 graduates found teaching posts in the term following their graduation and are currently teaching, with 22 on contracts, 5 on supply teaching.

3. In 1989, I toured a number of Institutions of Initial Teacher Education in the United States. These were Rutgers University, New Jersey, to meet with Dennis Carlson; Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, to meet with Henry Giroux and Peter McLaren; the University of Wisconsin-Parkside, to meet with Christine Sleeter; Michigan State University at East Lansing, to meet with Susan Melnick; and the University of Wisconsin-Madison, to meet with Mike Apple.

4. This is not at all to decry the value of the Crawley College staff contributions. One such colleague, for example, consistently secured the highest student ratings of any of the course evaluations. In addition there was a staff development policy through which some Crawley College staff acquired the 'recent and relevant' school teaching experience required under the 1989 CATE Criteria. There were inevitably some restrictions on staff development, due to the markedly different levels of resourcing between the higher education (HE) and the further education (FE) sectors. This did cause some tensions, particularly since FE staff conditions of service were markedly inferior to those on HE. The former, for example, were required to teach almost twice as many hours as the latter, with less desk space and generally inferior conditions of labour.

5. Such difficulties, of course, remain. Carrington et al. (2000) are among many who refer to the difficulty of achieving black and Asian entry into teaching. Broadening participation has been a major aim of New Labour policy since being elected in 1997. A number of reports have inquired into increasing access into higher education, among them the Dearing Report of 1997 (NCIHE, 1997), the Kennedy Report of 1997 (FEFC, 1997) and the DfEE Learning Age report of 1998 (DfEE, 1998d). (See Bowl, 2000 for a summary of these). The Crawley BEd was remarkably successful in attracting working-class students. It needs to be noted that Crawley itself is a London overspill town. Its social class character may be inferred from its semi-permanent post-war Labour majority on the Urban (District) Council over the last half-century.

6. Meg Maguire's doctoral thesis (Maguire, 1993) examined, inter alia, the ideologies of teacher educators at 'Sacred Heart' Institute of Higher Education.

7. This was a school that severely criticized the two Crawley student teachers on their final teaching practices, wishing to fail them both on their teaching practice. The women students were, respectively, a Radical Left /Marxist (Socialist Workers Party activist) and Muslim radical anti-racist. The school was neither anti-racist nor radical at that time of these, and indeed hostile to those perspectives. I withdrew both students from the school. One went on to gain a Teaching Practice Distinction at her replacement school, the other to be considered for a distinction. The school also vigorously criticized the course and its leadership, the Head Teacher concerned playing a vocal role in my subsequent removal from course leadership.

8. I had been supervising in Crawley Primary School for fifteen or so years, prior to setting up the Crawley BEd course in 1990. Some teachers and head teachers were known to me through Brighton Labour Party or Crawley Labour Party. I had passed through the 1987 Parliamentary selection procedures in both Brighton Pavilion and Crawley Constituency Labour Parties. I was known by some through my local political

leadership and press publicity in Brighton and East Sussex. A number of Crawley teachers lived in Brighton and were active in Brighton Labour politics. Hence, much of my social life in both constituencies involved Labour Party members many of whom were teachers.

9. I was removed from the Course leadership, ostensibly over a dispute about the level of resourcing (administrative support, display areas, room availability) for the course being offered, and subsequently dismissed (declared redundant) a year later, in 1996. The Deputy Course Leader moved to a different institution shortly afterwards in an unrelated move. The successor Course Leader was not Radical Left.

10. Smyth regards the contention over teacher reflection as an aspect of 'free marketeering'. He suggests that teachers need

a preparedness to reflect upon one's own history and how it is embedded in current practice, to speculate about the likely causes of relationships, but also to follow through into action whatever informed decisions to change that are deemed desirable. (Smyth 1986: 79; also see Chapter Four of this thesis.)

Chapter Nine

IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY

In pursuing a theory capable of explaining the changes to education policy since 1979, and the restructuring of Initial Teacher Education in England and Wales, I have compared the perspectives and analytic categories of state autonomy, postmodern, quasi-postmodern, culturalist neo-Marxist and structuralist neo-Marxist theories. In Chapter Seven, I showed that differences of degree and emphasis were evident in the way these theories define the relative autonomy of the state, of state apparatuses and of relatively extraneous agency.

Crucially, however, these differences of degree and emphasis were shown to depend on whether the theories admit or mask the material basis of ideological hegemony. The empirical research presented in Chapter Eight has significant implications for explanatory theories of the state.

Part One: State Theories Re-Evaluated

As shown in the previous chapter, responses from students and ex-students (NQTs) to the Radical Left Primary BEd course (1990–1992) indicate that the degree of control exercised by the state over teacher education can be significant to the point of repressive. This restrictive control is particularly evident where teaching is aimed at developing conspicuously critical and overtly progressive ideological perspectives. If any theory is to provide an explanation for recent changes to ITE then it must, within its concepts and analytic categories, recognizing the extent of state power.

While the research evidence from the Primary BEd course at Crawley shows the working of (conservative-repressive) ideological hegemony in a specific instance, there is also a link with the material basis of such intervention, which becomes evident when the Crawley course is seen in the wider context of education policy.

State control is exercised to an even greater extent over ITE than it is over schooling. The difference between schooling and ITE is that although both have a National Curriculum (schools since 1988, ITE in effect since the regulations of 1992/93), schools have more financial autonomy than ITE institutions. Although there are, in both cases, statutory requirements (as to curriculum content) and although there are external monitoring procedures (Ofsted, league tables; Ofsted, HEFCE/ TTA and league tables in the case of ITE), the major difference is in the control of funding.

Between 1988 and 1997, schools were funded on a per capita age-related basis (and on recruiting a large number of capitas in the market place). Other than in the case of some inner city, specialist and Education Action Zone schools, the situation remains broadly the same under New Labour. In contrast, ITE institutions are not funded on a per capita basis. They are funded according to how well the TTA and Ofsted consider they are implementing CATE and TTA criteria, and how they are matching up to other criteria, such as management and how well they perform in terms of the Research Assessment Exercise. Hence, while the funding mechanism for schools is quantitative, in the case of ITE it is both quantitative and qualitative: marks for quality are given by appointed watchdogs, carefully vetted and carefully instructed by government (see Evans and Penney, 1995; Wilkin, 1996).

Initial Teacher Education therefore exemplifies the link between ideological hegemony and the material basis of intervention, being subject so comprehensively and overtly to State policy, in terms of both economic determination and ideological manipulation. In this way, the example of ITE presents a criterion for the adequacy of state theory, whereby the admission of the *concept* of the material basis of ideological hegemony within a theory, is a measure of the ability of that theory to provide comprehensive explanation. Conversely, the masking of this same concept is a measure of theoretical inadequacy.

I will now apply this criterion to the theories under discussion.

Postmodernist and Quasi-Postmodernist Explanations

I begin by addressing the concept of state within Stephen Ball's pluralist revision of postmodernism. This is because Ball's quasi-postmodernism emphasizes the postmodernist quandary around the distribution of power. Research shows how current education reforms can and should be analysed as part of the ideological and repressive juridico-legal apparatuses of the state, which are rigidly bound by strengthened central control (see Whitty, 1993; Hartley, 1993; Hill and Cole, 1993; Cole and Hill, 1995; Hargreaves, 1994a, b; McLaren and Baltodano, 2000; Hill, 2001a). State policy on ITE is neither free-floating, nor a superstructural correspondence to what postmodernists perceive as changes in a post-Fordist economic base.

Yet for Stephen Ball, in his pluralist revision, it is not the state but 'discourse' that constitutes power relations. Ball's position notes the *de-centring of the state*, where the state is here the product of discourse. (Ball, 1994a, b). It is evident that to consider discourse and text (and discourse as text) can be illuminating. Indeed it is for this reason that I examine Radical Right discourse in Chapter Two. However, it is also the case that discourse and text can be contingent, and therefore not illuminating, when considered in isolation from the context of their production.

When quasi-postmodernism concentrates exclusively on text and discourse, and on the local (but contingent) detail, the state tends to be rendered invisible, its power excessively dispersed. Ball's work accentuates the power of resistance, the autonomy and power of human agency, the autonomy and power of state agencies such as schools (and presumably of ITE providers) and of micro-political recontextualization. Hatcher and Troyna note, in response to the concept of recontextualization, that 'authors (of novels for example) cannot *impose* a response'. (Hatcher and Troyna, 1994: 163). Clearly, policies are not merely texts – they are statutorily binding. State policies can be imposed.

The actual imposition is 'at the level of politics, not discourse'. State policy is not only about the production of knowledge, it is also about political action and at that level the central apparatus of the state can

override any alternative responses which remain at the discursive level.
(Hatcher and Troyna, 1994:163).

In their discussion of 'The Politics of Pedagogy: making a National Curriculum Physical Education' (1995: 27–44), Evans and Penney focus on the internal disagreements within the New Right on the PE working parties, the groups formed to 'advise' on the National Curriculum subjects, whose reports formed the main basis of Statutory Orders, the principal objects of reference for curriculum planning for teachers in state schools. (Evans and Penney, 1995: 28) (1). Here, they find the coercive role of the government and state, its use of non-discursive forms of power, to be realized when,

as in the making of other NC subjects, central government control over the curriculum was often exercised subtly through an expression of discursive power, but it also drew on positional and material forms of power. The actions of the members of the working group appointed by the Government to 'advise' on an NCPE were consistently regulated by both discursive codes which contrived to establish a particular form of social order (cultural restoration), and production codes which reached out to a context of economic recession, the failures of the market, and the 'need' to manage public spending and to regulate 'the means, the contexts, and possibilities of physical resources. (ibid: 42).

Ball himself accepts (1994b:176) that he and his colleagues underplay state coercion – i.e. 'give too little emphasis to it'. This is an important admission. Ball recognizes that:

As I has originally conceived it, the project of *Reforming Education* was an attempt to relate together 'the state' and 'the non- state', not to obliterate the former with the latter, but to begin to relate them together. If relative autonomy involves the play of the chain before the bear is drawn back to the stake, then we must understand the play as well as the chain, understand freedom/chaos as well as dominance/resistance. (Ball, 1994b:178).(2)

Precisely the same points about text, discourse and state power can be made about teacher education policy. CATE Circulars 24/89, 9/92 and 14/93 and TTA Circulars of 1997 and 1998 can be read in different ways – certainly, they can be subjected to multiple readings. And a degree of conversion and subversion, or colonization can be made at the micro-level – in my own lectures for example – or, as noted in Chapter Eight, in the choice I made as a course leader of the staff to appoint and the schools to use for student placements, indeed of the students to accept on to the course. Yet my

capacity to colonize, to co-produce, to subvert what I have seen as the intentions and effects of these Circulars is rather less potent than the power of the TTA and Ofsted to insist on their implementation.

Similarly, it may be interesting to complete a discourse analysis of my own lectures on the Crawley BEd course operating under the CATE criteria of 1989, or of my lectures on the BA(QTS) course at University College Northampton, operating under the TTA criteria of 1997 and 1998, or to have a discourse analysis of the course documentation and hand-outs of the data of the Crawley BEd course set out in Chapter Eight. It may well be interesting to discuss the existence of multiple readings of the 'Official Crawley BEd course' and to deconstruct its course outlines, assessments, or verbal and written advice to students and staff on how to approach these. Ultimately, however, the Crawley BEd course has been replaced by a far more technicist BA (QTS) course, and 'issues' courses have been substantially removed from ITE. In addition, 'issues' lecturers such as myself have been made redundant and, up and down the country, Heads of School/Departments/Faculties of Education, and their managers in ITE-providing institutions, are hastening to implement the latest TTA criteria and demands as closely as they can in order to meet the highly rigorous monitoring and investigative regimes of inspection. Pursuing a good Ofsted grading engenders as much anxiety, and becomes a primary focus for the efforts of ITE departments, as it does for schools; 'failure' is often followed by the displacement of those deemed responsible, in HE as in the school sector.

In a discussion of state policy, an emphasis on policy recontextualization within Ball's policy cycle thesis in ITE gives so much power to human agency as to ignore the Hillcole Group's judgement of the New Right in education that 'force, much more than consent has been the basis of its influence' (Hillcole Group, 1993a:4). In a similar critique of Ball's policy recontextualization thesis, Dale (1992) criticizes such approaches as 'severing implementation from formulation of state policy', which 'involves a serious misunderstanding of the role of the State in education policy'. (1992: 393).

The emphasis on discourse and text in Ball's quasi-postmodernism also tends to ignore the relation between state and capital, and tends toward the culmination of analysis in concepts such as plurality and the dispersal of power.

Hatcher and Troyna consider the ambivalence and inconsistencies of Ball's approach and the way the relationship between economic interests and education policy during the Thatcher government is understood:

In *Politics and Policy Making* he puts forward two different answers to this question. The first is in keeping with (his) pluralist Weberian-derived notion of the state ... Speaking of the industrial lobby for vocational education, he says, 'While the social composition of the state ensures a sympathetic hearing for the interests of capital, the state also responds to other interests and has other concerns. There is no absolute relationship here between the political and the economic: the state develops and pursues its own independent purposes. Thatcherite education policies, in particular, are marked by a combination of the ideological, technocratic, pragmatic and popular' (Ball, 1990b: 130 in Hatcher and Troyna, 1994: 159–60).

The conventional Marxist riposte to the supposed autonomy of the political region of the state, the supposed autonomy of the government, is that history is littered with the literal and figurative corpses of state rulers who were in fundamental conflict with the existing national dominant class and attempted to assert their autonomy.

Hatcher and Troyna accept that there has been a distinct lack of correspondence between the Conservative Government education policies and some of the demands made by the representatives of business and industry. Conservative politicians, like all politicians, always have specific electoral interests to observe. But it does not follow at all that 'the state is pursuing its own interests independent of those of capital'. (Hatcher and Troyna, 1994:160). The danger with Ball's concept of 'exclusion' (1990) is that once the exclusionary (economic) boundary of state policy and action has been set, then what follows within those boundaries can, in Ball's analysis, be seen as a 'free for all', with equal chances (for example) for economic or political or ideological considerations.

However, in other parts of his writing Ball *does* locate the restructuring of social welfare in general, and education in particular, within what Hatcher and Troyna describe as 'the distinguishing feature of the Thatcher and Major governments', the

radical determination with which they were prepared to overturn the entire postwar settlement in order to construct a new hegemony, in conformity with what they saw as the general and strategic needs of

capital, in terms of accumulation, contextual reproduction and legitimisation. (Hatcher and Troyna, 1994:160).

A similar, if not identical, analysis could be made of New Labour's radical determination.

It is not enough to indicate that the world is complex. The purpose of analysis is to discern degrees of influence in the world, to evaluate the totality of the many factors that interplay. Thus, although Ball et al. describe the complex interplay of influences in the development and implementation of the National Curriculum, they under-assess the degree of state force and over-assess the influence of local institutions and of local state agents. At the level of policy formulation, they again appear to virtually ignore the power of the state. Hatcher and Troyna reinforce the point that Ball's analysis omits the

emphasis on the complexly structured and determined unity of the social structure which Althusser emphasizes when he calls the social formation a structure in dominance. Only at the level of the social totality do the combined effects of multiple determinations and contradictions work themselves out. Without this analytic category ... Althusser's theorisation of complexity is reduced to mere plurality. (Hatcher and Troyna, 1994: 161).

Ball is not alone in seeing Althusser primarily as a neo-Marxist relative autonomy theorist, rather than as a structuralist Marxist (3). Resnick and Wolff join Ball in ignoring the totality of the state, of economic over-determination (see also Geras, 1972: 1). They over-stress the relative autonomy of the different regions of the state – the political, ideological, economic – from each other and also from the requirements of capital.

The issue of state power and effectiveness remains a central problematic for Ball. It lies between the smaller and the bigger picture, the local story and the metanarrative, within the link this Chapter is pursuing an explanation of – the link between the historical account and the wider analysis of the state restructuring of ITE.

Postmodernism and 'New Times' Theory

Insofar as postmodernism and quasi-postmodernism theorise the effects of economic developments on education, they claim that economic, social and educational policy

changes are a product and epiphenomenal reflection of the post-Fordist 'New Times' in which, they claim, we now live. Along with the fragmentation, diversification and consumerisation of social experience, Hall and Jacques (1989) argue that class has disappeared, as part of the cultural changes effected by the transition from a 'Fordist' to a 'post-Fordist' economy. While it is accepted that partial, geographically specific changes in patterns of experience and consumption have taken and are taking place (see Chapter Seven; Hill, Sanders, and Hankin, 2001), the most remarkable feature of these changes is that they are not altering workers' fundamental relations to the means of production.

Moreover, the stress by both resistance and reactionary postmodernists on what might be termed super-individualism suggests the passive non-solidarism of individuals. For example, Kenway et al. emphasize the power and novelty of television and indicate the stupidity of people who watch it. For Kenway, (e.g. 1993:13) 'policy making becomes increasingly caught up in the marketing and policing of images and the difference between the image and 'the real' becomes difficult to determine as the state variously uses and abuses media outlets and is used and abused by them'. Kenway over-privileges the textual analysis of the image and perceives that people are left floating in a non-resisting, non-solidarised, commodified dream machine. In this analysis of the world, social class is severely marginalised as people see themselves first and foremost as consumers, and as 'work, place and community shape our identity less and less', Kenway concludes 'the commodity and the image slip into the lacuna'. (1993: 119) (4).

The placing of commodification and class in an either/or relationship is a feature of postmodernist thought, which can be traced to the concentration on specifics of post-Fordist or 'New Times' developments without reference to wider economic and social changes, and which underpins the theoretical denial of the significance, or even the existence, of social class. Importantly, this partial understanding of the nature and effects of economic development forms the basis of a major distinction between postmodernist and neo-Marxist analyses, a distinction I now define by addressing the 'death' of class.

Postmodernism and the 'Death' of Class

It is common amongst theorists of 'New Times' and postmodernism, as indeed of the Radical Right, to suggest that class identification and class affiliation have declined in political and ideological importance, that 'the working class' has declined numerically, as well as in self-identification, and that class-based politics is anachronistic, defunct and oppressive to other oppressed groups.

Champions of the 'death of class' thesis point to the destruction of 'traditional' class signifiers in Britain (such as the decline of flat caps and whippets), of class institutions (such as Trades Unions, the Co-op, the Workers Educational Association), class locations (such as the mining village, the steel town, factory area), and therefore of class consciousness (evidenced by four successive Conservative electoral victories between 1979 and 1997 and by the supposed 'classless' appeal of New Labour in its 1997 general election victory). The social and cultural order organized around class has been replaced, they assert, by a 'new order' based on individual rights, mobility, choice (consumer and life-style in particular) and freedom.

Yet the concept of objective position retains immense explanatory power. It allows a number of inter-related, significant social truths to be identified and understood; and it identifies and explains the massive inequalities in material wealth which exist in Britain:

Class allows us to see such inequalities not as the chance result of some cosmic lottery game but as the determinate result of existing property relations. Beyond this, class (in combination with the labour-theory of surplus value) allows us to understand why the economic relationship between the owners and non-owners is necessarily antagonistic. (Sanders, Hill and Hankin, 1999:108; Hill, Sanders and Hankin, 2001 in press).

(For empirical data on these inequalities, see for example, Marshall et al, 1989; *Social Trends* 1998, 2001; Hatcher, 1998d, 2000b; Hill, 1999b; Sanders, Hill and Hankin, 1999; Crompton, 2000; Hickey, 2000; Rahman et al, 2000; Hill, Sanders and Hankin, 2001; Hill and Cole, 2001b).

Indeed, it is worth noting that whilst the arguments concerning the disappearance of class *might appear* to possess a certain purchase when the focus is placed exclusively on the 'working class', these arguments are far less persuasive if we turn our attention to the question of the existence of a capitalist class. Is there anyone amongst the postmodernists who would dispute or deny the existence of a relatively small group of people owning tremendous amounts of material wealth, wielding immense power, sharing similar cultural backgrounds and aspirations often reinforced by close family and other personal ties, who are adept at defending and promoting their interests?

The 'death of class' theorists can be contested by reference to a number of aspects of class theory – such as the recomposition of the working class, theories of representation, class identity and consciousness, changes in the labour process and degrees of labour process control among waged workers. I will now focus on two of these arguments to substantiate the neo-Marxist position regarding capitalism and state policy towards education

The recomposition of the working class

Arguing for the recomposition rather than decline of the working class, John Kelly suggests two definitions in common usage: a narrow definition, which includes only those workers directly exploited by capital in the production process, whose surplus labour yields surplus value, and a wider definition, which includes all those who are obliged to sell their labour in order to survive (the majority of whom, but not all, are indirectly exploited). On the latter definition, the working class is growing in size both absolutely and relatively. Although the number of workers employed in manufacturing and industry declined dramatically in the 1980s and the 1990s in Britain, and in many other capitalist countries, the fact is that workers in manufacturing, mining and transport have never constituted the majority of the working population in any capitalist country (the largest occupation group in Britain for the most part of the nineteenth century was domestic servants). It is also important to note that the international working class is actually increasing.

Justifying this wider definition of social class in the context of contemporary Britain, Kelly argues that an increasing section of the workforce is employed in business services,

which directly contribute to the production of surplus value, by helping capitalists squeeze ever more out of the workers (such as research and development, industrial engineering, computer hardware and software and other branches of consultancy). There is also a growing service sector (retail stores, hotels, the leisure industry and personal services such as hairdressing). The antagonistic relationship of, for example, a supermarket boss to a check-out assistant is analogous to that of factory boss to factory worker, in that the bosses have a vested interest in keeping wages and salaries down, and profits up. In addition, there are workers in the central and local state who are essential for the political stability of capitalism, even though they are not directly exploited for surplus value. Finally, a large section of the workforce is engaged in the reproduction of the working class, particularly in the education and health services (Kelly, 1989).

Social class is necessary to the constitution of capitalist society (Rikowski, 1996, 1997, 2000a, 2001b, e; Sanders, Hill and Hankin, 1999; Hill, Sanders and Hankin, 2001). It is presupposed on the separation of society's labourers from the means of their own social reproduction, and the selling of their own labour-powers to social representatives of capital (these days, typically personnel manager and recruiting staff of individual capitals, in the most direct sense). Secondly, it is based upon the promise of a wage for a specific duration of labour-time expenditure (minimally codified in employment contracts), when the commodities produced are alienated and owned by individualized capital (today often socialized as shareholders), or private owner/capitalists. Finally, social class is premised upon antagonistic social interests: the interests of labour as against those of capital's social representatives.

These antagonistic social interests result firstly from the workers' interests in producing no more value than that covered by their wage (as against the interests of capital's human representatives ruled by a social drive for surplus-value, which is at the basis of capitalist profit). Secondly, workers' needs regarding working in safe, healthy and pleasant conditions continually run up against the considerations of capital (to keep the conditions of work to a minimum standard necessary for productive work – and no more). These antagonistic social interests and drives are expressed in a variety of ways. Overt industrial conflict is only one such way. To show that social class is really 'dead, the 'death of class' theorists would have to assure us that all forms of expression of

antagonistic social class interests are extinct. Relying on strike statistics, voting patterns or survey evidence only scrapes the surface.

Although teacher educators may not have the same historical romantic appeal for Left Radicals as coal miners, they have, since the closure of most of Britain's coal mines, assumed a position of salience in the sights of Radical Right governments, ideologists and media. Whatever the subjective dispositions of individual teacher educators, it is their political position, their apparatuses and their potential as influential fractions and organizations of the progressive bourgeoisie, that have led to the material changes in their work – and the swathe of displacements, relocations, re-skillings and redundancies of some of the most politically advanced (Radical Left) lecturers in ITE.

Social class identity

For a Marxist class analysis, defending the notion of objective class position does not claim it to be anything more than the *starting-point* (see Sanders, Hill and Hankin, 1999; Hill, Sanders and Hankin, 2001), but it is a powerful one. For example, one factor of social class is income, and from it a whole series of objective factors can be inferred – such as education, housing, mode of transport, holiday destinations, even life expectancy. Yet,

It is important that analysis is not arrested at this level, the point after all is not to describe the world but to change it. And at the risk of simplification we might say 'economic class describes the world, social classes (conscious of their exploitation and of the possibility of ending it) transform it.' In moving from a concept of 'economic class' to that of 'social class' we are trying to define a category capable of dealing with the specificities of class as it exists and operates at a particular historical moment and within a determinate social formation. This involves those questions of class consciousness and subjective identification as well as the interaction of gender, race, sexuality, religious and spatial (nation, region, locality) factors in the construction of what we might term a concrete class identity. Again at this point we would like to emphasize that we remain firmly within the 'problematic' of classical Marxism. (Sanders, Hill and Hankin, 1999: 111).

An analysis of social class, of economic exploitation compounded by political expropriation, can be (and historically has been) used by the socialist Left to try and

persuade all wage-labourers that they have a common interest in seeking the end of capitalism. Postmodernists have objected to this project on the grounds that it denies or suppresses the facts of 'social difference'. As David Harvey states:

Concentration on class alone is seen to hide, marginalise, disempower, repress and perhaps even oppress all kinds of 'others' precisely because it cannot and does not acknowledge explicitly the existence of heterogeneities and differences based on, for example, race, gender, age, ability, culture, locality, ethnicity, religion, community, consumer preferences, group affiliation, and the like. (Harvey, 1993:101).

In advocating a class-based structural analysis, I acknowledge the value of some neo-Marxist and feminist appropriations – of Lacan, for example (see Sarup, 1983; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991; Barrett, 1993) – and also recognize that identity is not monolithic or fixed (5). One of the most influential aspects of postmodernist/poststructuralist writing has been the account of identity as a fragmented, de-centred subjectivity, and

we recognise this as an advance on former monolithic 'vulgar Marxist' accounts of social class which substantially ignored questions of ethnicity, sex, sexuality in both theoretical terms and in terms of political action and mobilisation ... Thus, we would argue that the concept of decentred subjectivity is both correct and possesses useful explanatory power when we come to confront the question of declining class consciousness. (Sanders, Hill and Hankin, 1999:113; Hill, Sanders and Hankin, in press).

The utility of this concept of 'decentred subjectivity' does not, however, admit arguments and theories proclaiming 'the death of class' and/or qualitative equality, in theoretical and in social/economic terms, between economic oppression and exploitation based on 'race', gender, and social class.

Postmodernists and postmodern feminists – such as Butler, 1990, 1998; Lather, 1991, 1998, 2001; Biesta, 1998; Atkinson, 2000a-c, 2001) – strategically over-privilege cultural notions of identity and under-privilege material explanations of human and social class behaviour. But whereas sex or 'race' identities are exploitable (and admittedly are, on a near universal basis), the nature of class exploitation in capitalist economy is fundamental. Capitalism can survive with 'race' equality, for example. Indeed, for neo-

liberals, these are desirable attributes of an economy and education/training system – but to conceive of social class equality and the continuance of capitalism is a contradiction in terms. My contention is that we perceive the *fundamental* nature of class exploitation in capitalist economy, as opposed to that of sex or 'race' exploitation.

The notion of an essential, unitary self was rejected, over a century and a half ago, by Marx in his sixth thesis on Feuerbach – 'the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations' (Marx, 1845, in Tucker, 1978:145). Social class is clearly only one of a range of possible identifications and one which is, *on various occasions*, less immediately 'obvious' than those of gender, race, religion and sexuality. It is useful to compare 'worker' with 'man/woman', 'black/white', 'Muslim/Christian/Jew/Non-believer', 'gay/straight' (not to mention partner/ wife/ mother/ daughter/ son/ father/ husband). The relatively abstract quality of identity is apparent, yet for millions the duality 'Worker/Boss (Guvner/Gaffer)' is not at all abstract. Nor is it abstract for the 'bosses/ guvners/ gaffers' themselves. For many – though by no means all – people in today's society, the first label (worker) describes something they do – all the other labels describe what they are.

In keeping with dominant developments in Western academic (neo-) Marxism and political Marxism and Socialism over the last two decades, postmodernism stresses that class identity is only one possible identity, and that identification with it will frequently be hard-won. On other occasions it is a ready and automatic self-identifier. This enables and encourages people to conceptualise in terms of class identities and identifications – and indeed to recognize that people *do* so both in their daily lives and, more specifically, at certain conjunctures.

By postmodernism's own internal logic, class remains a possible/valid identity (given that no identity is 'essential' and all are constructed). But where it systematically denigrates class and encourages people to think exclusively in terms of other identifications, postmodernism is engaged in class struggle (at the level of ideas). The issue of social class seems to precipitate the fracture of postmodern theory, where identity becomes either possible and valid or is denied. Or is it the case, conversely, that postmodernist theory is registering a fracture within social class? Perhaps it is more the case that, ultimately, postmodernism seeks only to identify this quandary. I suggest that Marxism

offers a comprehensive reply to any question of the internal differentiation of social class, a reply which also shows the 'death of class' concept to be a major theoretical limitation of postmodernism.

Marx and the Explanation of Class

From the outset, class for Marx is not simply monolithic. Marx took great pains to stress that social class is distinct from economic class and necessarily includes a political dimension which, in the broadest sense, is 'culturally' rather than 'economically' determined. Class consciousness does not follow automatically or inevitably from the fact of class position. In *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847) Marx distinguishes a 'class-in-itself' (class position) and a 'class-for itself' (class consciousness) and, in *The Communist Manifesto* (Marx and Engels, 1848), explicitly identifies the 'formation of the proletariat into a class' as *the* key political task facing the communists. In *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* (1852), Marx observes:

In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that divide their mode of life, their interests and their cultural formation from those of the other classes and bring them into conflict with those classes, they form a class. In so far as these small peasant proprietors are merely connected on a local basis, and the identity of their interests fails to produce a feeling of community, national links, or a political organization, they do not form a class. (Marx, 1974: 239).

The major consequence of this formulation is that social class exists in a contingent rather than a necessary relation to economic class. The process (and conceptual category) that links economic and social class is that of 'class consciousness'. This is arguably the most contentious and problematic term in the debate over class, as Richard Johnson recognizes with his cogent summary of the arguments within the Marxist tradition in his essay 'Three problematics: elements of a theory of working class culture' (Johnson 1979). Outside the Marxist tradition, it is clear that many critics of class analysis (such as Jan Pakulski, 1995) confound class consciousness with the fact of class – and tend to deduce the non-existence of the latter from the 'absence' of the former. As noted earlier, the collapse of many traditional signifiers of 'working-classness' has led many to pronounce the demise of class yet, as Beverley Skeggs observes,

To abandon class as a theoretical tool does not mean that it does not exist anymore; only that some theorists do not value it. It does not mean ... [working-class people] experience inequality any differently; rather, it would make it more difficult for them to identify and challenge the basis of the inequality which they experience. *Class inequality exists beyond its theoretical representation*. (Skeggs, 1997:6; emphasis added).

The recognition by Marx that class consciousness is not necessarily or directly produced from the material and objective fact of class position, enables neo-Marxists to acknowledge the wide range of contemporary influences that may (or may not) inform the subjective consciousness of identity – but in doing so, to retain the crucial reference to the basic economic determinant of social experience.

I am not arguing against the complexities of subjective identities. People have different subjectivities. Some individual miners are gay, black, Betty Page or Madonna fetishists, heavily influenced by Biggles or Punk, their male gym teacher or their female History teacher, by Marge Peirce or by Daily Sport masturbation, by Radical Socialists or by British Movement ideology. But the coal mining industry has virtually ceased to exist and the police occupation of mining villages such as Orgreave during the miners strike of 1984-85 and the privatisation of British Coal was motivated by class warfare of the ruling capitalist fraction. Whatever individuals in mining families like to do in bed, their dreams, and in their transmutation of television images, they suffer because of their particular class fraction position – they are miners – and historically the political shock troops of the British manual working class.

Moreover, the fundamental significance of economic production for Marxist theory integrates a range of analytic concepts, which include the metanarrative of social development and therefore the proposal of viable transformatory educational and political projects. In contrast, the local, specific and partial analyses that mark the limitations of postmodernism are accompanied by either a lack of or opposition to policy.

As far as I am aware, no postmodernist theorist has yet gone beyond deconstruction into constructing a convincing programme for reconstruction, despite the formulation of positions variously described as the 'postmodernism of resistance' (Lather, 1991;

McLaren, 1994), or 'critical postmodernism' (Giroux, 1992; McLaren and Hammer, 1989) by the postmodern feminists referred to above. This also applies to Atkinson (2000a-c, 2001). She attempts to counter the arguments advanced by 'Marxist researchers ... for example, Hill *et al.* 1999; Kelly *et al.* 1999' that the greatest fault of postmodernism is that it lacks an agenda for social change' (2001 in press). (See Rikowski, McLaren, Hill and Cole, 2001, and Cole, 2001c for a rebuttal of her arguments).

As noted in Chapter Seven, this reconstructive deficit applies to Giroux's recent work (1997, 1999, 2000) as much as to his tentative suggestions of what a postmodern school might look like (in Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991, critiqued in Hill, 1993f). It also applies to his first avowedly post-Marxist, postmodern book (Giroux, 1992). Similarly, Usher and Edwards (1994) state that any 'reconfiguration is provisional and open to question'. What this 'reconfiguration' looks like, in both cases, is redolent of 1960s individualistic, student-centred ultra-pluralism with its attendant dangers of separat(e)ist development. Many postmodernist writers are genuinely trying to reconcile postmodern anti-foundationalism with a modernist metanarrative and political project – in other words, to square the circle. Nevertheless, the political project of critical postmodernism remains characteristically underdeveloped.

I suggest that postmodernism's rejection of metanarratives can be seen as symptomatic of the theoretical inability to construct a mass solidaristic oppositional transformatory political project, and that it is based on the refusal to recognize the validity or existence of solidaristic social class. More importantly, this general theoretical shortcoming is politically disabling because the lack of policy is in effect reactionary. Both as an analysis and as a vision, post-modernism has its dangers – but more so as a vision. It fragments and denies economic, social, political and cultural relations. In particular, it rejects the solidaristic metanarratives of neo-Marxism and socialism. It thereby serves to disempower the oppressed and to uphold the hegemonic Radical Right in their privileging of individualism and in their stress on patterns and relations of consumption as opposed to relations of production. Postmodernism analysis in effect if not in intent, justifies ideologically the current Radical Right economic, political and educational project.

I began Part One of this Chapter by showing how Initial Teacher Education is an element of the education state apparatus, which is especially subject to economic determination and ideological manipulation by state policy. Yet I have since argued that the most limiting and disabling feature of postmodern theory is the exclusive concentration on local specific and partial detail. I therefore still need to link the historical reform of a particular state apparatus, and a particular ITE course, to theoretical categories that embrace the bigger picture of global economy and, by doing so, return an explanation to the local experience. For this purpose, I now turn to neo-Marxism, in a discussion of culturalist neo-Marxist and structuralist neo-Marxist theory.

Part Two: Structuralist Neo-Marxism and its Explanatory Value

Culturalist neo-Marxism also exhibits some of the problems derived from underestimating the structural limitations on autonomy (in various spheres and arenas), although to a lesser extent than postmodernism. Theorists such as Dale, Apple and Whitty *do* illuminate how and where the current project, or intentions and activities of capital and its discursive rhetoricians, have resulted in the neo-liberal and neo-conservative restructuring of education systems (Apple, *passim*, Whitty, *passim*). In addition to their political economy analyses of education policy, they also exemplify and make detailed political proposals for the regeneration of socialist schooling (e.g. Gleeson and Whitty, 1976; Apple and Beane, 1999; Whitty, 2001).

Similarly, culturalist neo-Marxism with its stress on 'relative autonomy' emphasizes complexity and disarticulation – within and between state apparatuses, within and between the economic, ideological, cultural and the economic regions of the state, and between different fractions of the capitalist class and the Radical Right. This emphasis derives from the concepts of *over determination* (Althusser, 1971; Lipietz, 1993) and the post-Althusserian concept of *delimitation* (c.f. Dale, 1989; Whitty, 1985; Apple, 1989a; 1989b; Liston, 1988; Jessop, 1990), and it disguises, diminishes or denies the meta-explanation, the *meta-analysis*, the importance of class, of capitalism and of state power.

I agree with Callinicos and others (6) that many current neo-Marxist education theorists have moved too far away from economic determination, too far away from structuralist

analysis, and too far away from a concept of the big picture. An analysis of the restructuring of (teacher-) education must refer to the big picture – to the ensemble of changes to teacher education and the wider education state apparatuses and ultimately to the overall conglomeration of the changing activities of ideological and repressive state apparatuses in state activities as a whole.

It is not possible to deduce bold statements about the evolution of central state ideology from the activities in the evolution of one particular state apparatus (such as the National Curriculum Council and its Subject Advisory Groups or ITE: see Hill and Cole, 1995). As Dale (1989a), Jessop (1990) and Apple (1989a; 1989b) have argued, state apparatuses perform a variety of 'sometimes conflicting', functions, from that of (re-) producing a labour force with the work skills necessary for continuing capital accumulation, to legitimating the economic, social and political status quo, and to securing social cohesion (e.g. Dale, 1989a:28). The point here is that the relatively small-scale picture of the 're-forming' of the state apparatus of ITE or of one part of ITE, is, in itself, insufficient to prove or disprove any explanatory model of the economy/ state/ (initial teacher-) education relationship. *However, when taken in concert with the operationalising and restructuring of the wider ensemble of ideological and repressive state apparatuses, theoretical analysis of such relationships is indeed possible.*

A Structuralist Correction to Neo-Marxist Relative Autonomy Theory

The analysis I develop here accepts, along with the other theories discussed, that the requirements of capital are not effected in an unproblematic, uncontested, linear, deterministic process. There is, manifestly, *a degree* of relative autonomy of education (and other) state apparatuses. Schools, for example, or departments and schools of education engaging in ITE, do not slavishly or totally efficiently carry out *all* central state requirements. Furthermore, there is undeniably *an element* of autonomy of the political and ideological from the economic region. However, together with Mike Cole, I have suggested an economistic correction to what we see as the over-autonomising of contemporary culturalist neo-Marxist relative autonomy theory, and of culturalist/humanist (neo-) Marxist notions of human agency and resistance.

In this economistic correction, I draw on Callinicos' concept of a *hierarchy of determination* (Callinicos, 1993), which is an attempt to give greater weight in broad social explanation to the economic over the political and the ideological. Callinicos develops Althusser's concept of over determination. He elaborates the important concept of the 'hierarchy of determination' and suggests:

Althusser's genealogy of complex totality, his demonstration that the best Marxist thought has sought to understand social formations simultaneously as concrete wholes and as multiplicities of determinations, provides an important rebuttal of the argument that any totalisation necessarily involves the eradication of difference ... conceiving a social formation as a multiplicity is not inconsistent with recognizing a hierarchy of determination which materialist explanation seeks to respect (see Callinicos, 1982, chapters 5-7). I know that talk about hierarchies these days is held to be in bad political taste, but a social theory which does not attend to the relative causal weight of different practices, institutions, and agents is strategically worthless and conceptually empty. (Callinicos, 1993: 44).

With regard to the hierarchical determining power of the state within neo-Marxist theory, Hatcher and Troyna concur that the state must be centre stage in the analysis of the policy process and, though they begin from Dale and Ozga's (1991) formulation of the various functions of the capitalist state (set out above), they want to 'stress how that entails the state intervening in and striving to regulate all social relations, including those of gender and family, "race" and nation, in the interests of capital'. (Dale and Ozga, 1991:158). They also reject Dale and Ozga's insistence upon the notion of *neo-Marxism* arguing, with Miliband, that the idea of the state acting at the behest of, rather than on behalf of, the ruling class, is 'a vulgar deformation of the thought of Marx and Engels' (Miliband, 1983:58). Instead, Hatcher and Troyna argue that because economic power is fragmented, 'state power has to be relatively autonomous, precisely in order to pursue the general interests of capital'. (Hatcher and Troyna, 1994:159). The state has interests of its own, although

not ... independent those of capital ... On the contrary the distinguishing feature of the Thatcher governments was the radical determination with which they were prepared to overturn the entire post-war settlement in order to construct a new hegemony, in conformity of what they saw as the *general* and *strategic* needs of capital, in terms of accumulation, contextual reproduction and legitimisation. Whether they were successful is another question, but

the class commitment is surely not in doubt. (Hatcher and Troyna, 1994: 159–160).

If the analysis of policy regarding the specific apparatuses of teacher education must include the *levels of state policy*, then I suggest it must also include *temporality*, the long- or short-term aspect of policy. Whereas *micro-policy* and *short-term policy* (for example during an election run-up period) may frequently exhibit the relative autonomy of state policy (e.g. on education) from the logic of capital accumulation, *macro-policy* and *long-term policy* does not. (The rupture in the post-war political consensus that Offe [1975], Dale [1989a], Apple [1989a; 1989b] Hill [1990a], Ainley [2000] refer to is inexplicable without direct reference to the capital accumulation process and crisis).

In the global view, differences and similarities exist in the various national struggles between capital and labour. In the advanced capitalist states in late twentieth and emerging twenty-first centuries, developments and hegemonic projects have differed. Yet the variation is limited. Recent statist social welfare and education policies in Australia, New Zealand, Britain and the USA have been similar (in Australia and New Zealand partly under Labour governments), while Conservative governments in the nineteen-nineties – for example in Portugal, France, Belgium – and Social Democrat governments (Germany, with Schroeder's 'Neue Mitte'), have all attempted similar cutbacks in worker's rights and welfare provision. Within the European Union, the UK was alone (under the Conservative Government) in rejecting the Social Chapter (with its workers' rights), but as the 1990s progressed, the Gaullist, Christian Democratic and Social Democrat one-nation corporatist states have adopted more and more aspects of neo-liberal economic and welfare policy, under guidance from the OECD and other international capitalist organizations such as the IMF, whether the project veers more towards neo- or post-Fordism (6).

It is possible to see, then, that where the logic of capital as expressed in macro-policy and long-term policy is admitted, so aspects of *the two-nation hegemonic project* will become evident, as part of the normal state response, in relatively high-wage Western advanced capitalist economies, whether those states are corporatist (Italy) or relatively consensual (Germany and France). Of course there will be different levels of resistance in

different states; outcomes will vary. But they are varying, albeit in fits and starts, in a neo-liberal direction, whatever the names and histories of the governing parties.

In the same way, when the restructuring of Initial Teacher Education is set in the context of changes in the wider nexus of educational state apparatuses, it becomes clear that the impact of state educational apparatuses outside of teacher education must be taken into account. The National Curriculum for schools in England and Wales – in its Conservative manifestations of 1988 and 1995, and in the relatively unchanged New Labour version of 2000 – can be viewed as assimilationist and culturally imperialist. Assimilationism does, of course, essentially exclude those who are unassimilable, so that, *within a two-nation hegemonic project*, and, indeed, *in the nominally one-nation hegemonic project of New Labour*, they become part of the 'excluded nation', the underclass.

Beyond this, when a *micro-level* and/or *short-term* policy such as ITE is seen in the context of '*the big picture*' of *capital accumulation*, when local ITE changes are seen as part of a *macro-level* and/ or *long-term* overall policy, then the nature of those changes becomes comprehensible. Thatcherism's attempt to deal, for example, with a crisis of capital and its accompanying de-subordination crisis involves a whole ensemble of state apparatuses, and includes the quest for a more ideologically and politically compliant, economically low-waged, de-unionised workforce. This explains how teachers and teacher educators as a whole have been perceived and persistently targeted as (actually or potentially) resistant members of oppositional sectors.

Economic Determination in the Last Resort: an Extension of Althusser

For Althusser, *Economic Determination in the Last Instance* means, 'in the last "overdetermined" analysis, or in the last instance' (7). It is the bottom line. This is where Marxist analyses differ from non-Marxist, because although Althusser accepts 'economic determination in the last instance', the concept is qualified considerably by the suggestion that, in over-determined form, 'its bell never tolled.' This is an unduly minimalist concept of economic determination, which enables Resnick and Wolff, for example, to interpret

Althusserian over-determination as giving *equal weight* to political, ideological and economic factors:

Marxists such as Lenin, Gramsci and Lukacs had been struggling to produce a Marxian theory freed from the last instance determinism that had haunted it. Althusser's notions of overdetermination and contradiction provide an answer to this long struggle. Overdetermination offers a notion of base and superstructure as conditions of each other's existence. Each is understood to play an active role in constituting the existence of the other. 'It permitted the construction of a theory of society in which no process – economic, political, cultural or natural – and no site of processes – human agency, enterprise, state or household – could be conceived to exist as a cause without being itself caused. All, whether human agent or social structure, became defined – within a web of mutual overdeterminations. (Resnick and Wolff, 1993: 68).

Along with Stephen Ball's quasi-postmodernism, Resnick and Wolff's analysis and application of Althusser is overwhelmingly pluralist and not sufficiently materialist.

Althusser's concept is an analytical concept not related to any particular stage of capitalist development. Indeed, Althusser's 'bell' of economic determination is, at the current juncture of capitalism, now tolling. The theory of 'economic determination in the last instance' is thus inadequate. Yet it can be extended, into the concept of *Economic Determination in the Last Resort*, which meets the requirements of contemporary analysis.

This concept is *periodised*, applying to particular stages in the development of capitalism (two such periods are the early nineteenth-century laissez-faire period in Britain, and the modern Thatcher-Major-Blair era). Within such periodisation, the concept also refers to the *nakedness of the primacy of the capital accumulation process*.

There are three main aspects to this nakedness, asserted in (i) the *intentionality* of governmental discourse, referring to the open recognition by the ruling group of intention, a 'coming clean' about the primary (neo-liberal) purpose of the capitalist state, a recognition of the structural requirements, the logic of capitalism, and a willingness to propagate that recognition as a dominant ideology; (ii) *media support* for that intentionality, as part of an ideological/ legitimating project, also in media support for an

accompanying project attempting to repress, marginalise and delegitimate opposition to that intentionality. This support can be switched from political party to political party – it is the *project* that receives support (as in 1995–96, when some media support in Britain switched from an unpopular Thatcherite-Major to Tony Blair's New Labour, thereby continuing a sub-Thatcherite agenda, as I argue in Chapter Six); and (iii) creating *general awareness* of those intentions within the population at large, by conflating the interests of capital with the interests of society, so that 'capitalism could be neutralised as the unquestioned backdrop to everyday global life'. (McLaren, 1999a: 171).

In contemporary terms, then, *intentionality* refers not only to the open recognition by ruling groups of the primary purpose and logic of the capitalist state, a recognition of which it is always aware, but also to the willingness to propagate the structural requirements of the current, latest stage of capitalism as a dominant (neo-liberal) ideology. This is so whether it has a social democratic inclusivist gloss under New Labour, or the neo-Conservative gloss of the preceding Conservative administrations.

It is necessary to emphasize the first of the above two points. The argument I am advancing here is concerned with the extent of nakedness of capital accumulation in a particular phase. To take two contrasting periods, the post-war boom of the late 40s until the early 1970s and Thatcher-Reaganite (continuing) neo-liberalism, the capital accumulation process was pursued with just as much ruthless determination during the period of the creation of the welfare state as it was under Thatcher. The difference is not only how it is 'presented' in those two periods. It is in the very different political project of the ruling class, partly as a result of a less competitive economic context in a period of boom and partly, as a result, because of the greater ability of the state to pay for reforms. So in both periods, the 'economic' was equally determinant, but led to two very different ruling-class projects, for explicable reasons relating to capital accumulation. I am not arguing that prior to the current period, state policy was *less* in the 'economic, political and ideological interests of capital accumulation' than today. *What I am arguing is, firstly, that such state policy is more openly stated, and, secondly, that it is more repressive.*

Applying *economic determination in the last resort* to (teacher-) education state apparatuses suggests that the current logic of capital requires less room for dissent, less

room for critique, less room for oppositional school and teacher education curricula, less room for 'teachers as intellectuals'. (Giroux, 1988a; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1993). This is the naked and openly admitted restructuring of the British State and its Education Apparatuses in the economic, political and ideological interests of capital accumulation. The key features of intentionality are evident in the restructuring of schooling, and of teacher education. Conversely, recent changes in education and in teacher education can clearly be seen as elements of the economic determination of educational superstructural forms, *both in an overdetermined 'last instance' and as determination 'in the last resort'*.

Conclusion

In this Chapter I have shown, in Part One, how the limitations of postmodernist and quasi-postmodernist theories deny the close relationship between capital and state, and state and government, thereby obscuring the material basis of repressive state policy and ideological manipulation that was shown, by research data from the Crawley BEd degree course (presented in Chapter Eight), to be the major feature of ITE policy and practice. In Part Two, I have compensated for this theoretical failure by providing the comprehensive explanation of recent changes in ITE policy enabled by structuralist neo-Marxism, using the concept of *Economic Determination in the Last Resort* (an extension to Althusser's concept of *Economic Determination in the Last Instance*).

I have also referred, in this Chapter, to the absence of policy or transformative projects in postmodernist analyses. Is it possible for theory to create these, within its own terms? Indeed, is it possible to resist the immense power exercised by the state in the implementation of policy and through the various apparatuses of support? I found, from the empirical data presented in Chapter Three, the near-unanimous opposition to the state (neo-liberal) restructuring of ITE within the education community yet also, in Chapter Five, that even a change of government from Conservative to New Labour had not reversed the Radical Right restructuring – it had confirmed it. Moreover, my research of the impact of ideology on student and newly qualified teachers (in Chapter Eight) serves to substantiate the hypothesis that ideological/cultural change, if divorced from material change, is likely to be limited.

Yet the potential for change does still exist. The greater the conservatization of New Labour, the greater will be the opposition to it by those whose material conditions continue to suffer greatest impoverishment – such as teachers – and who continue to witness the impoverishment of their professional ideals, status and working conditions. Evidence of this is readily available, in the electoral debacles for New Labour in Wales and London in 1999–2000, the electoral 'voting strike' and the search for alternatives by 'traditional' Labour (working class) supporters, the Easter 2000 conferences of the NUT and the NAS/UWT (the teacher unions) calling for strike action over (respectively) performance-related pay and conditions of work.

I now turn, in Chapter Ten, to the application of (extended) structuralist neo-Marxist theory to the issue of transformative policy and practice, in an attempt to match theory with the vigorous resistance to changes in schooling and teacher education that does, indeed, continue.

Notes

1. Evans and Penney also comment on Ball's concern with a micro-analysis of discourse. Discussing the micro-politics of the proceedings of various National Curriculum Council working Parties, they cite work by Ball (1990b) and Bowe *et al.* (1992) on the Maths and English National Curriculum working groups. For example, Evans and Penney note that Ball suggests that,

the struggles within the NC working groups reflect a contest over a variety of discourses. In particular there were disagreements between factions within the New Right exponents of 'cultural restoration', who articulate a defence of an elitist, liberal, discrete subject curriculum and a pedagogy of didactic systematic transmission, and supporters of progressivism. The former call for a return to pre-comprehensive (i.e. a selective and ability differentiated system of education), pre-progressive (meaning, more didactic) forms of teaching methods and the re-invention of 'traditional' social and educational ideals. The latter emphasize skills, processes and methods rather than curriculum content, and problem solving rather than abstract knowledge. Here, pedagogy is facilitative and exploratory, tending towards mixed rather than instructional didactic modes, 'having affinity with progressive vocationalism on matters of curriculum structure, assessment and pedagogy. (Ball, 1990b: 126–127, in Evans and Penney, 1995: 28).

2. Furlong *et al.* (e.g. 2000: 8), make a number of similar claims to Ball.

3. Althusser's essay on Ideological State Apparatuses (Althusser, 1971) has been criticized on two main grounds: (a) as being internally inconsistent. Barrett (1993) has argued the ISA essay is in two halves – the first half is functionalist, the second half (itself internally contradictory) develops the complexity of subjectivity; (b) as overly functionalist and overtly anti-humanist (Barrett, 1993; Callinicos, 1993; Giroux, 1983a, b), denying human agency and indeed denying class agency; explaining immobilism rather than change; failing to provide a motor for social change. See Sarup (1983:15–17; 146–147); Larrain (1979:154–161); Giroux (1983a, 1983b); Callinicos (1993:41–42); Hindess and Hirst (1977:388); Balibar (1993:11); Benton (1984:102); Johnson (1979:229–30). These criticisms were very much part of the neo-Marxist tradition in the 1980s epitomized by Michael Apple and by Henry Giroux, in the USA (e.g. Giroux, 1983a) and in Britain by Cole, 1988. The trajectory from reproduction theory to more 'humanist' or 'culturalist' neo-Marxist theory is set out, for example, by Whitty (1985), Sarup (1983) and Liston (1988). It was argued that deterministic structural analyses of the relationship between Economy-State Apparatuses-Economic and Ideological Reproduction (such as analyses of Althusser, Bowles and Gintis, Bourdieu) failed to recognize that it is far from easy to impose a suffocating and successful ideological hegemony. 'Culture Wars' clashes of ideology take place at both individual and at societal levels. At the societal level, following Gramsci (see Sarup, 1983; Giroux, 1983a; 1983b) and following Althusser and Poulantzas, the non-monolithic nature of the state has, in the 1980s and mid 90s, been part of standard neo-Marxist analysis.

It is also necessary to point out that Althusser's analysis, while structuralist, was not economistically reductionist (Benton, 1984; Kaplan and Sprinkler, 1993). It was a reaction against a Stalinist, 'vulgar' version of an economic base determining in a linear fashion the political/social/ ideological superstructure. Althusser, followed by Poulantzas, did introduce into his post-Stalinist Marxism the notion of relative autonomy, of disjunctions and disarticulations within and between different 'regions' of the superstructure, the juridico-legal and the ideological. However, as stated in the main text, he did posit/ accept 'economic determination in the last instance' (Althusser, 1971), the point of difference between Marxist and non-Marxist analyses.

4. This prioritizing of market/consumption/life style over production is derived from Max Weber, and is commonplace analysis among many sociological accounts of social class. For a critique, see Marshall et al. (1989: Chapter 2), Cole (1992b, Chapter 3), Sanders, Hill and Hankin (1999); Hill, Sanders and Hankin (2001); Hill (1999b); Hill and Cole (2001b).

5. See Hill and Cole, 1993, 1996; Bourne, 1999, 2001; Cole and Hill, 1999a, 2001; Kelly, 1992, 1999, 2001; McLaren and Farahmandpur, 1999; Sanders, Hill and Hankin, 1999; Hill, Sanders and Hankin, 2001 and McLaren, 2000, for the reactionary implications of this emphasis for a critique of 'identitarian' analysis and politics.

6. Callinicos (1989, 1990); Skeggs (1991); Green (1994); Hill and Cole (1993); Hatcher and Troyna (1994); Cole and Hill (1996a, b).

7. Harris (1994); Cole (1998); Hatcher and Hirtt (1999); Hirtt (2000); McLaren and Baltodano (2000); Ainley (2000).

8. This was first developed in Hill (1994d) and Cole and Hill (1995). The initial formulation was with Mike Cole and Mandy Williams.

Chapter Ten

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY: TOWARDS A PROGRAMME FOR INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

In this concluding chapter, I am concerned with the development of Radical Left policy for ITE and schooling.

I set out a series of progressive egalitarian policy principles and proposals that are rooted in the empirical and theoretical findings of the thesis as a whole, but particularly the professional responses to the restructuring of ITE from the educational community (set out in Chapter Three), the case study of the critically reflective Crawley BEd (discussed in Chapter Eight), and the theoretical development of Chapters Seven and Nine.

These proposals constitute a manifesto for teacher education for economic and social justice, based on a democratic Marxist theoretical framework (1) and on the structuralist neo-Marxist analysis of the thesis as a whole. The Conclusion calls for transformative change throughout ITE, throughout education and the wider social context, by specified means of engagement with the Radical Right in its Conservative and (as argued in Chapter Five) its New Labour manifestations.

Part One: The Restructuring of Teacher Education

Critical Teacher Education

On the relation of radical egalitarian teacher education to securing economic and social justice in society, Paula Allmann states that

education has the potential to fuel the flames of resistance to global capitalism as well as the passion for socialist transformation – indeed, the potential to provide a spark that can ignite the desire for revolutionary democratic social transformation throughout the world. To carry the metaphor even further, it does so at a time when critical/radical education, almost everywhere, is in danger of terminal 'burn-out'. (2000: 10).

As I have shown, the question of how far this transformative potential can be realized is the subject of considerable debate, for contemporary theory as well as practice. The autonomy and agency available to individual teachers, teacher educators, schools and departments of education is particularly challenged when faced with the structures of capital and its current neo-liberal project for education (Hill, 2001a). It is necessary to highlight the phrase 'potential to fuel the flames of resistance' in Allman's quote above. The analysis in Chapter Nine showed that caution is necessary when considering the degree of autonomy of educators (and, indeed, other cultural workers such as journalists and film-makers) who fuel the flames of resistance.

Yet to identify particular characteristics of these structures is to identify a starting point for transformative action. As noted in Chapters Two and Nine of this thesis, the neo-liberal project for education is part of the bigger picture of the neo-liberal project of global capitalism (2). Markets in education, and so-called 'parental choice' of a diverse range of schools, are only one small part of the education strategy of the capitalist class, with its Business Plan *for* Education (what it requires education to do) and its Business Plan *in* Education (how it plans to make money out of education). (Hatcher, 2000, 2001; Molnar, 1996, 1999, 2000a, b; Hill, 2001b).

The bigger picture, seen both globally and across national policy spectra, enables an overall understanding of how the move towards markets in education relates to the overall intentions and project of transnational multinational capital, and to the policies that governments try to put into practice on their behalf. Hence, the big picture shows that schools are continuing their role, *inter alia*, as a disciplinary force of the capitalist class through the corporate managerialisation of teacher education. For McLaren, 'the major purpose of education is to make the world safe for global capitalism' (2000:196), and:

What teachers are witnessing at the end of the century is the consolidation of control over the process of schooling and particularly over the certification of teachers in order to realign education to the need of the globalized economy (McLaren and Baltodano, 2000: 35).

The scarcely contested success of this project has rendered the content and objectives of Initial Teacher Education in England and Wales almost unrecognizable, compared with those of the 1960s and 1970s.

Detheorized Teacher Education under the Conservatives and New Labour

The key characteristic of this restructuring is the detheorization of ITE. Under Conservative and New Labour Governments, this has entailed the virtual removal of issues of equity and social justice, let alone economic justice, from the ITE curriculum. Study of the social, political and economic contexts of schooling and education has similarly been hidden and expunged. In England and Wales, and elsewhere, ITE is now rigorously policed. Since the Conservative Government student teacher criteria of 1992/1993, 'how to' has replaced 'why to' in a technicist curriculum based on 'delivery' of a quietist and overwhelmingly conservative set of 'standards' for student teachers (for examples, see Chapter Four of this thesis).

It must be admitted that in the field of ITE, New Labour policy is continuing the previous government's neo-liberal and neo-conservative policies but modifying some of them very slightly, in classically social democratic fashion, so that *some* space for theoretical and equal opportunities work has been re-legitimated. Some *very minor* space

for the development and implantation of egalitarian and critical teaching has been opened. Critical pedagogy and critical reflection have, for example, been facilitated, if hardly encouraged, via the introduction of 'Citizenship' as part of the (September 2000) revised National Curriculum (see Hill and Cole, 1999b), and via very slightly modified requirements for student teachers (see Cole, 1999 b, c).

At the same time though, because New Labour has, *to an overwhelming extent*, accepted the Radical Right revolution in ITE, as it has in schooling, the Conservative legacy has scarcely been amended in terms of routes into teaching, the changing nature of teachers' work, and curriculum and assessment (Hill, 1999a, 2000a, b). Indeed, the Literacy Strategy for schools, which dominates student teacher preparation for teaching English, has further decontextualized and strait-jacketed the teaching of reading. (Helavaara Robertson, 2000, 2001).

When set in the context of what could have been done to promote critical reflection and a more egalitarian curriculum for ITE, the New Labour changes here are very modest indeed. Consequently, the Conservative government policy and proposals for ITE are being sustained *almost in toto*, based as they are on a neo-Conservative cultural nationalism and authoritarianism and a neo-liberal competitive, individualist anti-egalitarianism.

Education policy effecting this detheorization of teacher education is a symptom of the project of capital, which requires the suppression of oppositional, critical and autonomous thought. As McMurtry (1991, 1998, see also Grace, 1994; Winch, 1998, Bottery, 1999) has noted, this requirement is particularly inappropriate for education, leading to '*opposite standards of freedom*', since

Freedom in the market is the enjoyment of whatever one is able to buy from others with no questions asked, and profit from whatever one is able to sell to others with no requirement to answer to anyone else. Freedom in the place of education, on the other hand, is precisely the freedom to question, and to seek answers, whether it offends people's self-gratification or not. (1991: 213).

This occurs with the 'systematic reduction of the historically hard won social institution of education to a commodity for private purchase and sale' (1991: 216), where the 'commodification of education rules out the very critical freedom and academic rigour which education requires to be more than indoctrination' (1991: 215).

Rikowski makes the significant link from the large-scale movement to local self-awareness:

Capitalist social relations, and capital, as a social force, have *deepened* since Marx's time. Today: *the class struggle is everywhere* ... capital is everywhere – including within 'the human' itself. Scary stuff! Education is implicated in the capitalisation of humanity – and we have to face up to this. (Cole, Hill, McLaren and Rikowski, 2001:20. See also Rikowski, 2000b, 2001b, e).

Part Two: Radical Left Principles for Education and for ITE

The Radical Left and Education

In the face of this Conservative restructuring of Initial Teacher Education, Marxist, socialist and Radical Left teacher educators share principles and policies for counter-hegemonic theory and practice in teacher education. I now proceed to define a set of Radical Left principles for re-theorized egalitarian *education as a whole* in *Table 10.1*, then in *Tables 10.2 and 10.3* a set of principles and proposals *for the ITE curriculum*. There is some debate within the Radical Left over the specific policies suggested, notably over questions of the degree of student-based pedagogy and course development. The following four principles *for education as a whole* are, however, widely accepted by the Radical Left.

List of Four overarching Radical Left principles for Education

- vastly increased equality (of outcome)
- comprehensive provision
- democratic community control (over education)
- use of the local and national state to achieve a socially just (defined as egalitarian), anti-discriminatory society.

These four overarching Radical Left principles *for education as a whole* are expressed through the following fourteen principles (3):

Table 10.1: Radical Left Principles for Education

1. More resources and funding for education (e.g. through higher rate of tax on profits and the rich, and by spending less on defence) resulting, for example, in smaller class sizes
2. An end to selection in schooling and the development of fully comprehensive schooling and further and higher education system, i.e. a change in the structure of schooling
3. An end to the competitive market in schooling;
4. commitment to egalitarian policies aimed at achieving vastly more equal outcomes regardless of factors such as social class, gender, 'race', sexuality and disability, and the egalitarian redistribution of resources within and between schools, via positive discrimination for under-achieving individuals and groups
5. A curriculum which seeks to transform present capitalist society into a democratic socialist one
6. Opposition to some key aspects of liberal-progressive education, such as non-structured learning and minimal assessment of pupils/school students and reliance on the Piagetian concept of 'readiness' (discussed in Chapter Four)
7. An egalitarian and anti-elitist common curriculum
8. An egalitarian and anti-elitist informal (hidden) curriculum
9. The teacher as
 - authoritative
 - democratic
 - anti-authoritarian
 - engaging in critical pedagogy, with a commitment to developing critical reflection (discussed in Chapter Four)
 - political activist committed to struggling for social justice and equality inside and outside the classroom
10. Increasing local community democratic accountability in schooling and further and higher education (e.g. LEA powers) and decreasing those of 'business' and private enterprise
11. Local community involvement in the schools and colleges
12. Increasing the powers of democratically elected and accountable Local Government (Education Authorities) with powers to
 - redistribute resources
 - control quality
 - engage, inter alia, in the development and dissemination of policies for equality (e.g. anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-homophobic policies and policies seeking to promote more equal outcomes for the working class and the disabled)
13. A schooling system, the aim of which is the flourishing of the collective society, the community, as well as the flourishing of the individual

Table 10.1: Radical Left Principles for Education (Continued)

14. Fostering cultures within the classroom and within school and further education and higher education workplaces that are
- democratic
 - egalitarian
 - collaborative and collegiate – i.e. to replace what is sometimes a brutalist managerialist culture with a more open and democratic one.

As an example of a Radical Left education programme deriving from Socialist and Marxist principles, and in opposition to Conservative and New Labour policy and principles in education, the Socialist Alliance education policy, contained in its manifesto for the 2001 British general election, is as follows:

- Improve pay and conditions for teachers and other education workers.
- Stop and reverse Private Finance Initiative and Public-Private Partnership schemes in education
- Abolish Education Action Zones
- There should be a comprehensive review of the national curriculum, to involve (among others) teaching unions and experts chosen by them
- Abolish league tables and the current testing system.
- End charitable status and tax privileges for Eton, Harrow and other private schools. Abolish private education.
- Since the Tories destroyed the school meals service a million children living in poverty do not have access to a free school meal – for many the main meal of the day. We say all children should have free nutritional breakfast and lunch at school.
- For free after-school clubs and play centres for all that need them.
- Ensure provision of a full range of arts, sports and sex education in all schools

Of course, education is not just about children. Young people and adults at colleges and universities – and the staff who work in them – have also suffered under both the Tories and Labour, which imposed tuition fees and ended free higher education.

We say:

- Abolish tuition fees and student loans. We call for free education and a living grant for all further and higher education students, funded from taxation on the high paid and on big business, which wants skilled workers but is getting them on the cheap.

- People of all ages should be entitled to free education and training facilities
- For the return to local democratic control of education at all levels, to include representatives of education workers, students and the wider community

(Socialist Alliance, 2001: 9)

Radical Left Principles for Initial Teacher Education

The degree of congruence between the Radical Right and New Labour (shown in *Tables 7, 8, 9 and 10* of Chapter Five) is remarkable. The lack of congruence between the Radical Left and the Radical Right/ New Labour axis (shown by *Table 5*, Chapter Five) is less remarkable: both the Radical Right and New Labour have identified themselves substantially in terms of their anti-socialism (see Chapter Four of this thesis; Cliff and Gluckstein, 1996; Barber, 1996; Driver and Martell, 1998; Giddens, 2000; Hill, 1999a, 2000a, b, c, 2001d, e, 2002 a, b; Cole, Hill, McLaren and Rikowski, 2001; McLaren, Cole, Hill and Rikowski, 2001; Rikowski, 2001c, d).

In Chapter Six, *Table 1* defined seven Radical Left principles for ITE, which I can now extend in more detail as principles for economic and social justice within education. These, I suggest, should form the basis of the review and development of current policy, theory, Department for Education and Employment (DfEE), Teacher Training Agency (TTA) and Ofsted circulars and, not least, practice in Initial Teacher Education.

Table 10.2: Fifteen Radical Left Principles for the Initial Teacher Education Curriculum.

	RADICAL LEFT	NEW LABOUR	SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC	RADICAL RIGHT
(i) the development of classroom skills and competencies	√√	√√	√√	√√
(ii) the development of subject knowledge	√√	√√	√√	√√
(iii) the development of intellectual critical skills	√√	√√	√	XX
(iv) commitment to ethical/moral 'critical reflection' and its egalitarianism	√√	XX	√	XX
(v) inclusion of data on equality issues organized both as core units and as permeation	√√	XX	√	XX
(vi) a holistic approach to social and economic justice in the curriculum	√√	XX	X	XX
(vii) skills in dealing with discrimination, harassment and labelling within classrooms and institutions	√√	√?	√	XX

(Continued overleaf)

Table 10.2: Fifteen Radical Left Principles for the Initial Teacher Education Curriculum. (Continued)

	RADICAL LEFT	NEW LABOUR	SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC	RADICAL RIGHT
(viii) the development within institutions of open <i>fora</i> on social justice and equality where students and staff in institutions can meet in a supportive environment	√√	XX?	√?	XX
(ix) development of critiques of competing social and economic theories and ideologies in schooling and society	√√	XX	?	XX
(x) development of knowledge and skills to critically examine the ideological nature of teaching and the nature of teachers' work	√√	XX	?	XX
(xi) knowledge and skills to critically examine the ideological nature and effects of education policy and its relationship to broader economic, social and political developments	√√	XX	?	XX
(xii) the concurrent development of critical reflection, throughout and from the beginning of the ITE course	√√	XX	?	XX

(Continued overleaf)

Table 10.2: Fifteen Radical Left Principles for the Initial Teacher Education Curriculum. (Continued)

	RADICAL LEFT	NEW LABOUR	SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC	RADICAL RIGHT
(xiii) primarily, but not totally predetermined rather than primarily negotiated curriculum objectives	√√	XX	?	√
(xiv) support for a major role for higher education institutions in ITE. Opposition to totally/primarily school-based routes.	√√	√X	√√	XX
(xv) acceptance of different routes into teaching concordant with graduate teacher status and the above principles	√√	XX	?	XX

Key	√√	strong agreement	?	not clear/arguably so
	√	agreement	??	not at all clear/very arguably so
	O	equanimity		
	X	disagreement		
	XX	strong disagreement		

Radical Left Proposals for a Core Curriculum for ITE

These proposals do more than return to the *status quo ante* the Thatcherite election victory of 1979, or the James Callaghan Ruskin speech of 1976 that presaged the end of both liberal-progressive and social democratic ends in education. Instead, they pursue the four overarching principles for education as a whole by requiring a core curriculum for ITE that will:

List of Radical Left Proposals for the ITE Core Curriculum

- include macro- and micro-theory regarding teaching and learning, in which the socio-political and economic contexts of schooling and education are made explicit. This refers to not only classroom skills and competencies, but also theoretical understanding of children, schooling and society, their inter-relationships, and alternative views and methods of, for example, classroom organization, schooling, and the economic and political relationship to society.
- embrace and develop equal opportunities so that children do not suffer from labelling, under-expectation, stereotyping or prejudice from their teachers, or indeed, from their peers.
- enable student teachers to develop as critical, reflective teachers, able, for example, to decode media, ministerial (and indeed, Radical Left) distortion, bias, and propaganda on falling standards in schools and institutions of teacher education. This encourages the development of effective classroom-skilled teachers, able to interrelate and critique theory and practice (their own and that of others).
- include not only technical and situational reflection, but also critical reflection, so as to question a particular policy, a particular theory, or a particular level of reflection, or such critical questions as *'whose interests are served'; 'who wins?' (if only by legitimating the status quo); 'who loses? (who has to deny identity in order to join the winners, if this is at all possible); 'who is likely to have to continue accepting a subordinate and exploited position in society (by virtue of their membership of oppressed groups)?'*

Of the following proposals, the first three are common across different ideological positions, and because of their near universality in Britain, I do not develop them here. The next two are also widely shared, although they assume different degrees of salience within different rhetorics. The final ten propositions are more specifically Radical Left.

The ITE Curriculum should include:

1. *Classroom skills and competencies.* In addition to a deep knowledge of core subjects, student teachers need to develop reflective skills on pupil/ student learning and on

teaching and classroom management, and on stimulating all the children in their classes to learn. They also need to develop skills in monitoring standards and demanding/facilitating the best from all their pupils/students (as set out in current TTA Circulars).

Considerable attention must be paid to student teacher, NQT, Headteacher and HMI/Ofsted evaluation of the adequacy of the various aspects of the ITE curriculum (such as those set out in detail in Chapter Three). While this student teacher and NQT data refers to courses validated under and designed to meet the 1989 CATE criteria, there are serious problems registered through levels of dissatisfaction with the preparation of students for teaching children with special educational needs likely to be met in ordinary schools (*Tables 3.5 and 3.6*), with preparation of secondary students and NQTs for teaching pupils for public examination, and with the lack of emphasis on information technology and special needs.

2. *Subject Knowledge.* Clearly, teachers need to know what they are talking about and what they wish students/pupils to learn.

3. *The development of higher education level analytical and intellectual skills.*

This demands that teachers are capable of acting and thinking at graduate level.

4. *Support for a major role for higher education institutions in ITE and opposition to totally/primarily school-based routes.* Higher Education institutions are better able to develop the theoretical perspectives outlined above, to enable student teachers to interrelate theory and practice so that they inform each other.

5. *Acceptance of different routes into teaching concordant with graduate teacher status and the above principles.* As long as the above principles are upheld – including the requirement of graduate status for teachers – then there is scope for a variety of routes into teaching. The routes into teaching are tactical matters, subject to these principled considerations.

6. *A commitment to the development of the ethic/moral dimension of critical reflection and the Radical Left egalitarian concern with working for social and economic justice, and recognition of the interconnection between the two.* If equal opportunities policies stop at celebrating subcultural diversity and establishing positive and non-stereotypical role models, and do not see themselves as a development of a metanarrative of social egalitarianism and justice, then they can be viewed as, in essence, conservative, for failing to challenge the economic, political and social status quo, based as it is on social class, 'racial' and sexual and disability stratifications and exploitation. Hence, a Radical Left perspective calls for teacher education (and schooling) to be socially egalitarian, anti-racist, and anti-sexist, and also to challenge other forms of structural inequality and discrimination, such as those based on sexuality and disability. It also highlights the partial and therefore illusory nature of social justice within an anti-egalitarian economic system.

7. *Data on equality issues: on racism, sexism, social class inequality, homophobia, and discrimination/ prejudice/ regarding disability and special needs.* Many teachers and ITE students are simply not aware of the existence of such data in education and society or the impact of individual labelling, and of structural discriminations on the lives and education and life-opportunities of the children in their classes, schools and society. This is particularly true of teachers trained/ educated under the 1992 and 1993 CATE criteria, and (to an extent only slightly diminished) also by current New Labour DfEE criteria.

Core units on equality and equal opportunities are required. Weaknesses of the permeation model limit effectiveness and, as Gaine (1995) notes, such issues must be put firmly on the agenda, not just slipped into myriad spaces within other sessions. Equality and Equal Opportunities need to be dealt with holistically in two senses. Firstly, they must be approached *conceptually*, as part of a holistic and egalitarian programme interlinking different forms of oppression. Secondly, *organizationally*, as part of BEd/ BA (QTS) and PGCE courses with units of study focusing on data, theory and policy in general. As Kincheloe *et al* (2000) note, radical teachers move beyond white, Anglo-Saxon, middle class and heterosexual educational norms, and explore the subjugated knowledges of women, minority groups and indigenous groups.

8. *A holistic approach to social and economic justice in the curriculum.* 'Race', gender, social class, sexuality and disability and special needs should be considered as part of an overall understanding of social justice within teacher education courses. Inequalities in practice can be multi-dimensional and their effects impact one upon the other. The desirability of maintaining their separateness needs to be questioned (although this is not to ignore the fact that inequalities and forms of oppression can clearly be unidimensional – as for example with 'gay-bashing' or 'Paki-bashing').

However, links should be drawn between, for example, anti-racism and anti-working class discrimination, so that anti-racism and multiculturalism can lead to, and be informed by, 'anti-classism' and anti-sexism. Many teachers can, and more could, substitute the word and concept 'class' (or 'sex') for 'race' in checklists for stereotyping, in policies concerning equal opportunities, appointments policies, classroom-activity choices or subject-option choices/ routes in secondary schools. At classroom level, in an anti-racist checklist for stereotyping in books, the word/concept 'race' can be replaced by 'sex' or 'class'.

Similarly, just as it is possible to look at the different amount of time and types of response given by teachers to boys and girls in the same class, the same observation techniques can be applied to 'race', social class, disability and youth sexuality. This is not to declare, *ab initio*, that all children should receive totally equal amounts of teacher time. Equality of treatment ignores the greater resources required by children with greater needs. It is antithetical to policies of equal opportunities and to a policy for equality. *Table 10.3* below indicates a possible content/objectives outline that could develop a number of these proposals.

Table 10.3: Curriculum Detail

	Social Class	'Race' and Religion	Sex	Sexuality	Special Needs
<p>What's the problem?</p> <p>Evidence/data on inequality</p> <p>Quantitative statistical</p> <p>Qualitative student's life histories</p> <p>children's life histories</p> <p>in</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • classrooms • school institutions • the education system • ITE • societal structures (e.g. housing, employment, politics, media) 					
<p>Why is it happening and why it should or should not</p> <p>Theoretical analyses explaining, justifying, critiquing/ attacking such inequality, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • biological models • conservative structural functionalism • liberal democratic pluralism • structuralist neo-Marxism • culturalist neo-Marxism 					
<p>Anti-egalitarianism policy developments which seek, or have the effect of, increasing inequality in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • classrooms • school institutions • the education system/ITE • society and societal structures 					

(Continued overleaf)

Table 10.3: Curriculum Detail (Continued)

	Social Class	'Race' and Religion	Sex	Sexuality	Special Needs
<p>Egalitarian policy developments that seek, or have the effect of increasing egalitarianism in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • classrooms • school institutions • the education system/ITE • society and societal structures 					

I am aware here of the different *levels* of truth (without lapsing into a disabling and uncritical modernist or postmodernist liberal ultra-pluralist relativism). As Allman notes, there are meta-transhistorical truths: these hold across 'the entirety of human history' (Allman, 1999:136), and are difficult to hold could be otherwise. Then there are transhistorical truths, which have held good to date but could possibly be invalidated in the future. Thirdly, there are truths historically specific to a particular historical formation – such as capitalism. These were the sorts of truths Marx was primarily interested in when analysing capitalist society. Finally, there are conjuncturally specific truths – propositions that attain validity within specific developmental phases of a social formation, such as current data and specific issues, which are transient to a greater or lesser degree, even though the mode of their analysis may not be so. Clearly, a dialogical and dialectical relationship between critical educator and teachers would result in a negotiated curriculum detail.

9. Skills in dealing with the incidence of classist, homophobic, racist, and sexist remarks and harassment at various levels, such as within the classroom and throughout the institution. It is important here to address other types of harassment, such as labelling and bullying based on body-shape, and their corrosive effects on children's learning, lives and happiness. (There is, however, a danger that generic anti-bullying policies can individualize the problem and deny any structural aspects such as racism, sexism, social class and sexuality).

10. *The development within institutions of open fora on social justice where students and staff in institutions can meet in a supportive environment.* This is an additional form of learning, where individual self-development comes through sharing experience and ideas. Teachers contribute their knowledge not only by transmission (though this frequently might be part of a teacher's repertoire of teaching methods), but also through interlocution where individual contributions are valued and respected. The culture of such a forum can foster a climate where individual 'voices', levels of consciousness and experiences are legitimated (Cole, Clay and Hill, 1990; see also Kincheloe, Slattery and Steinberg, 2000). Such 'voices' however should be subject to critical interrogation, not accepted uncritically (Cole and Hill, 1999a; Sanders, Hill and Hankin, 1999; Hill, Sanders and Hankin, 2001).

11. *Critiques of competing approaches and ideologies of schooling, teacher education and social and economic organization.* This should include skills to examine critically the nature of the curricula, hidden curricula and pedagogy, schooling, education and society. This enables student teachers to consider and challenge the ideologies that underpin the selection of knowledge that they are being asked to acquire and teach through the whole curriculum, as well as challenging the prioritized model of the teacher and critical mode of reflection. Ultimately, as McLaren and Baltodano observe, ITE courses should 'locate the schooling process in both local and global socio-economic and political contexts, while exploring the relations between them'. (2000: 43).

This should include a consideration of the different current major ideologies of education (socialism/Marxism, social democracy, liberal-progressivism, neo-Conservatism, neo-liberalism and New Labourism and their policy expression). In relation to these it should also include understanding and evaluation of anti-racism as well as multi-culturalism and assimilationism; Marxist analysis of social class and the concept of a classless society, as well as meritocratic social mobility or elitist stratification and reproduction; anti-sexism as well as non-sexism, and, indeed, sexism. In addition, different models of disability and gay/ lesbian/ bisexual issues should be addressed.

12. *The development of knowledge and skills to critically examine the ideological nature of teaching and the nature of teachers' work.* Here, student teachers should develop an understanding of the potential role of teachers in transforming society. This is so that, while teachers retain some critical agency in the area of the transmission of knowledge,

it remains possible for teachers to adopt the function of intellectuals ... and ... to resist becoming mere managers of day-to-day activities imposed from beyond the school, and to redefine their role within counter hegemonic practice. They can, through their discourse and interventionary practice in the ideological and political determinants of schooling, promote empowerment, autonomy and democracy. (Harris, 1994: 115).

13. *The concurrent rather than the consecutive development of critical reflection, throughout and from the beginning of the ITE course.* Teacher educators differ in their views of which levels, or 'arena' of reflection, make an appropriate *starting point* for reflection in the learning-to-teach process, with commentators as diverse as Calderhead and Gates (1993), McIntyre (1993), and the DfE Circular 9/92 (DfE, 1992a) all assuming or arguing that the three levels of reflection need to be developed in sequential order, i.e. that contextual-situational, and indeed, critical reflection are more appropriate for teachers who have attained technical and practical skills and skills of reflection (3).

My own view is that a three- or four-year undergraduate ITE course provides a sufficient period of time. Furthermore, with appropriate support (as set out in the next proposal), some increase in the school-centred and school-based component of undergraduate ITE courses may well provide a more appropriate immersion into the practices of teaching, learning and schooling and facilitate, organize and encourage the application of theory to practice and practice to theory.

If 'learning theory', 'critical theory' or issues of the social context of schooling are left until 'post-initial training', many Newly Qualified Teachers will not actually get any post-initial training other than 'Baker days' – the school-based in-service education for teachers (INSET). And the 'Baker days' appear to be overwhelmingly instrumental, and technical – in particular, to be concerned with how to 'deliver' and to assess the National

Curriculum. If contextual, theoretical and social/economic justice and equality issues are not studied during Initial Teacher Education, they may never be.

There are different phases in the induction of beginning teachers. As Stronach et al. (1996) point out, beginning teachers go through a phase of being inculcated with the values and ideals of their ITE course (the idealized competence phase). This is followed by a phase of 'coping competencies', of 'fitting in' to a school culture, of preoccupation with discipline and of negotiating an identity with school students and teachers. The third phase, when a new teacher has 'settled in' and disciplinary/control issues have receded, is the phase of 'realized competence' with 'quite often the emergence of a surprisingly firm set of beliefs about the nature of teaching, what kids are like, and why standards are as they are'. (Stronach et al., 1996: 81). Yet 'it seems that the kind of "reflective practitioner" (implicit in the Scottish Office Education Department list of criteria of 1993) was quite frequently caught and extinguished between the Scylla of initiation and the Charybdis of the routine'. (ibid: 82).

Whitty (1996), reporting in the Department of Education in Northern Ireland's working group on competencies in ITE, also addresses questions of the phasing (and indeed the location) of competence development. His conclusion is that 'awareness of contemporary debates about education', 'understanding of schools as institutions and their place within the community' and 'awareness of the importance of informed critical reflection in evaluating his or her professional practice' should all be given most attention during initial teacher training, but should also be developed during Further Professional Training, and (for the last competence) during induction too. (Whitty, 1996:91–92). Whitty's recommendations might well diminish Stronach's 'Charybdis of routine'. In-Service and Masters degree course students commonly show, in this Further Professional Development phase, insights that differ from those of ITE/ ITT students. The breadth and depth of practical schoolness/ teachingness/ learningness to which they can apply and from which they draw theory, are inevitably more pronounced.

McIntyre develops the argument 'that reflection is a much more central means of learning for experienced practitioners, than it can be for novices' (1993: 45), but he *does* assert the necessity for student teachers to engage in critical or emancipatory reflection:

It is certainly of fundamental importance that beginning teachers should learn to see how their efforts as teachers, and the effects of their efforts, are shaped by the institutional and societal structures within which they work, and by the ideologies which support these structures. In particular it is important that they should understand how their own work, shaped by these structures and ideologies, can serve interests different from, and sometimes in conflict with, those of the pupils whom they are teaching; and that they should be helped to begin to search for strategies through which, individually and corporately, they can contest the processes and the ideologies of schooling. (McIntyre, 1993: 45–46).

14. *Substantially predetermined rather than primarily negotiated curriculum objectives*

Calderhead and Gates raise the key questions of whether 'a truly reflective teaching program' should have 'predefined content or ... be negotiated', and how to 'reconcile the aim of developing particular areas of knowledge, skill and attitudes with the aim of encouraging autonomy and professional responsibility'. (Calderhead and Gates, 1993: 3). These are crucial issues in various postmodernist, postmodern feminist, and liberal pluralist critiques of the concept of teachers as critical transformative intellectuals. They are also key elements of postmodernist critiques of Marxist class-based transformativist solidaristic analysis and policy proposals in education. They refer to the tension between developing student teacher autonomy on the one hand, and seeking to develop a particular ideology on the other. Liston and Zeichner observe the significant historical shift of emphasis within the Radical Left:

At various times the focus has been on the content of programmes, the skill of critical analysis and curriculum development, the nature of the pedagogic relationships between teachers and pupils, and between teacher educators and their students, or on the connections between teacher educators and other political projects which seek to address the many instances of suffering and injustice in our society. (Liston and Zeichner, 1991: 33).

The debate centres on whether 'democratic participative pedagogy' should typify a course, as championed for example by Shor (1986), Giroux (e.g. 1988a, b, 1989a, b), and Giroux and McLaren (1989), McLaren (1999b, 2000) and McLaren and Baltodano (2000). Arguably, a heavy use of discussion based and 'own-experience based' small group collaborative work, typical of much Primary schooling and Primary Teacher education in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s, militates against the development of the

broad span of critical theoretical insights argued for in this Chapter. In accordance with the Radical Left principles outlined here, course objectives, if not the content-based means to their attainment, should – following national debate and taking into account particular student needs at any particular historical juncture – be substantially pre-determined. (4).

This proposal is for the organic intellectual not the didactic. As Rikowski (2000) notes, for 'organic intellectuals, the goal is not "to tell the people what to think" but to enable them to think clearly – to provide them with the tools (critical literacy in the first instance) to engage in cultural action incorporating the exercise of critical (dialectical) consciousness aimed at social transformation'. (2000d: 63).

Moreover, transformative intellectuals must engage in self-criticism. This is so especially in relation to forming a dialectical unity with the student groups/teachers that is *non-antagonistic*, in order that to assist in moving people from their 'concrete conceptions of the world (their limited praxis) ... [towards] ... a critical, scientific or, in other words, dialectical conceptualization.' (Allman, 1999: 115).

15. *The application of critical evaluation to school-based practice and experience.*

Theory can provide the analytic and conceptual apparatus for thinking about practice in schools and classrooms, within the formal and within the hidden curriculum, while practice can provide the opportunity for the testing and assimilation of theory.

McIntyre (1993) finds ample evidence of student teachers' general incapacity and/ or unwillingness to make significant use of theoretical knowledge formulated in terms of interpretations or explanations of educational phenomena, rather than in terms of suggestions for practice. He concludes:

If the focus of concern is, in contrast, on suggestions for what teachers might appropriately do, then analytic and explanatory theory can be drawn upon where relevant to help student teachers to evaluate these suggestions. Within the limits of the time available this will generally mean that such theory will have to be pre-digested and made easily accessible. In brief then, this is simply the most effective way to make available to student teachers the most helpful ideas for them which can be derived from theoretical and research work in education. (1993: 49).

Since the 1992/93 CATE criteria towards more school-basing in ITE-based courses and the continued development of school-based ITE programmes, the detheorization of teacher education through an emphasis on untheorized practice is a major problem in the development of effective teaching and in the development of critical transformatory skills, awareness and teaching. Hence, in the next section, I move from considering the teacher education curriculum to focus on the organization of teacher education.

Part Three: Radicalizing School Experience and Some Key Issues in School-Based ITE, and the ITE Curriculum

A number of criticisms of school-based ITE, set out in Chapter Two, relate to concerns with equality and social justice, and can be summarized as follows:

Summary of Criticisms: School-Based ITE and Equality

- Too little time is allowed for collaborative reflection by students (McLennan and Seadon, 1988; Hill, 1991a)
- There are problems of consultation with teachers and teacher educators about the school-college partnership, and how school-based ITE will operate (SCOP, 1994; Blake and Hill, 1995; Blair and Bourdillon, 1997; Fuller and Rosie, 1997; Furlong *et al*, 2000; Smedley, 2001)
- Schools in general, and particularly primary schools, are unprepared to take the lead in ITE, because of fears of overloading teachers (HMI, 1992; DENI, 1991; NFER, 1992; Blake and Hill, 1995; Blair and Bourdillon, 1997; Fuller and Rosie, 1997; Furlong *et al*, 2000; Smedley, 2001)

(Continued overleaf)

Summary of Criticisms: School-Based ITE and Equality (Continued)

- There are dangers in the selection of schools. At first, following the introduction of increased school-basing of ITE in 1992/1993, there was concern about the narrowness of criteria for selecting schools to be used for ITE. (These should extend beyond academic SATs results and truancy rates, so that school quality audits include a school's commitment to, and experience of, multi-cultural and anti-racist education. See Hill, 1994a:27. I would add that commitment to, and experience of, other types of egalitarianism and equal opportunities in education should be included). Now, however, the problem appears to be that with so much ITE based in schools, there is little choice of 'partner' schools. It is currently the case in large parts of England and Wales that there is actually a shortage of schools willing to take students. Some schools selected do not meet criteria of effectiveness, excellence, reflectiveness or egalitarianism.
- Concerns exist about the relative lack of support for minority ethnic students experiencing racism, and women student teachers experiencing sexism within the school, and for ITE students wishing to address such issues. ITE HEIs are, arguably, likely to exhibit less stasis and to be more able to provide support than schools.
- Mentors need education and training in such issues, as do many HEI lecturers/teaching practice supervisors.

The following sections, on HEI-school relationships and the organization and structure of ITE, are designed to facilitate the development of teachers as effective teachers who are critical transformative intellectuals.

HEI-School Relationships

A substantial role for Higher Education Institutions should be retained, but with closer delineation of which aspects of educating and training teachers are best met by schools, and which by colleges. This should be based on experience of research evaluation of current practice.

I am proposing the interrelation of theory and practice, rather than the *unpractised* theory that typified BEd/BA(QTS) and PGCE courses during the late 1980s and early 1990s. And certainly not the *untheorized* practice, untouched by critical theory, which appears to be the intention of both New Labour and Conservative governments.

CATE Circulars 9/92 (DFE, 1992a) (for Secondary teacher education) and 14/93 (DFE, 1993a) (for Primary teacher education), confirmed by the New Labour Circular 4/98 (DfEE, 1998a) dramatically increased the amount of school-basing within college-based undergraduate and postgraduate ITE courses. The basis on which partnership is to develop is however one-sided. Schools and LEAs do not have a similar mandate to HEIs. School-based teacher responsibilities for training are not, in general, reflected in the contractual hours of school staff. This one-sided partnership is lacking in resources at a time when schools are stretched by local financial management and required to cost their over-expenditure.

At the same time, with both Conservative and New Labour governments insisting on the pursuit of competition, enterprise and individualism in education, it is a contradiction in policy to expect schools and teachers to continue to interact on a basis of goodwill and underfunding. In some areas, goodwill has become a largely redundant concept, with schools and Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) scrabbling over Teacher Training Agency money, with HEIs faced with widespread redundancies, early retirements and loss of teaching expertise and research bases, and schools ill-equipped for and unused to some (though not by any means all) of the exigencies and demands of mentoring and supporting students on teaching practice.

With school mentoring, school teachers guide, advise, support and grade student teachers in place of HEI lecturers. They, or their schools, are paid for this and there is some (albeit minimal) contact with HEI lecturers. In practice, HEI staff involvement is limited to ascertaining that monitoring systems and relationships are functioning, and 'fire-fighting' when things go wrong.

Partnership is necessary for bringing together various aspects of theory and practice, but its potential depends on the negotiation and delivery of a coordinated, well documented

and monitored series of experiences on campus and in school. If it is to succeed, it has to be built on clear lines of communication and a recognition of the intellectual foundation of teaching – not just in curricular knowledge, but in the reflective and critical analysis of practice. This is widely recognized as a foundation of effective teaching and of empowering student teachers to have an understanding of the society in which they teach and learn.

HEI–School Relationships: Six Proposals

The following six points outline a policy for School–HEI relationships:

1. *Criteria for the selection of schools.* Schools offering training should be able to demonstrate their ability to offer a good model of equality of opportunity policy and practice and, where appropriate, a curriculum responsive to the needs of multi-racial and multi-lingual communities, in order to be accredited as partnership schools. (CRE, 1992). Schools should also be reflexive, with an attitude and practice (or potential to practice) the kind of critical evaluation recommended above.
2. *Criteria for the selection of link teachers* Within these schools, the criteria for the selection of link teachers (teacher tutors, teacher mentors) should include the ability to demonstrate a range of competencies including an understanding and/or record of work in implementing equal opportunities policies, and/or curriculum development of relevance to multi-racial and multi-lingual needs. (CRE, 1992). Again, link teachers need to be reflexive and open to critical analysis and evaluation, however naive such appraisal might appear to be at a particular time.
3. *Mentor training and education* As in ITE, schools and teachers currently sometimes lack the expertise to equip student teachers with the skills and understanding required to recognize factors that disadvantage. Mentors need to be provided with full training and support in the issues relating to social justice by the ITE institution concerned. Such training should be a prerequisite for mentoring.

4. *School–HEI contracts* The commitments, responsibilities and expectations of HE staff, school staff and students, clearly outlined at present, should also include a formal commitment to – and a practice of dealing with – stereotyping and discrimination both at an institutional and a personal level.

5. *Theory– practice partnership between HEIs and schools* HEIs should provide the opportunity for structured theoretical explorations, and schools should provide the opportunity for students to experience the practical implementation and contexts of those considerations. The matching of theoretical to practical work on this issue is the basis of partnership between institutions that will be most useful (Clay and George, 1993).

6. *Triadic discussions* should take place (while recognizing the stasis usually inherent in such discussions). Even where the teacher takes major responsibility for supervising and assessing the student, there should be critical discussions within school experience (between teacher, student, and HEI tutor). (Menter, 1989, 1992; Crozier and Menter, 1993; Blair and Bourdillon, 1997; Fuller and Rosie, 1997; Smedley, 2001).

The Organization and Structure of ITE: Nine Proposals

1. *Easier entry* to undergraduate initial teacher training courses for those whose APEL (Alternative Prior Learning and Experience) is appropriate. However, while accepting different entry points into teacher education/ 'training', all teachers should be graduates (New Labour has accepted this last policy).

2. *A national system of sub-degree level certification for teacher assistants and helpers* which should be an entitlement for those working a minimum number of hours with children in school (say 6 hours per week) and which should be mandatory for those working longer hours with children in school (say 25 hours per week). A graded system of certification should, after development, serve as the equivalent of the first year of a four-year BEd degree programme. In this respect some aspects of the current School Teacher Assistant (STA) scheme should be welcomed (not as a non-graduate route into teaching but as a route into a graduate qualification).

3. *Articled Teacher type, two-year PGCE courses* should be extended, though with a 65/35% school–college ratio, rather than the 80/20% ratio of the (now finished) Articled Teacher Scheme. This would obviate the criticisms of de-theorizing ITE and should include experience in at least three schools.

4. *Maintain the current balance between College/HEI-based and school-based work in four-year BEd courses established by CATE Circular 14/93 (DFE, 1993a) for Primary ITE courses* (i.e. 160 days of a 120-week BEd course). The 1989 CATE criteria (DES, 1989a) of 100 days in school on a four-year BEd course was too little and did not enable students adequately to interrelate theory and practice.

5. *Increase Secondary PGCE courses to 45 weeks*, with half the term spent in school and half in HEI/College. The CATE Circular 9/92 restricted the number of HEI/College-based days to 60 days for Secondary PGCE students (DFE, 1992a), which should be extended to approximately 112.5 days in school and the same in HEI/College.

6. *Increase Primary PGCE courses to possibly two years in length*. Half of the time should be spent in school and half in HEI/College. This contrasts with the requirement in CATE Circular 14/93 that Primary PGCE student teachers should spend 20 weeks in HEI/College, and 18 weeks in school. Neither of these is long enough. This could be structured on a 45-week course based in HEI and schools, and a term in school with HEI involvement, perhaps on a one day a week basis in college. This could make good use of the best of induction procedures, such as that offered by the ILEA prior to its abolition.

7. *Maintain a variety of different routes into ITE*. Within this diversity there may be different patterns of school and college/HEI-based work. However, totally school-based ITE such as School-Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) should be abolished, although it should be examined as to its strengths as well as its weaknesses.

8. *Offer to all ITE students a minimum of three school placements*, so that student teachers on all routes into teaching (undergraduate or postgraduate) experience a variety of school styles, ethos, problems and challenges.

9. *Rigorous and collaborative Mentor Training for all school mentors* to accompany school-based work in all ITE courses. At present (in the academic year 2000–2001), a substantial proportion of mentoring is carried out by teachers, who, while they may be experienced as class teachers, are inexperienced at the training and education of adults. Furthermore, mentors must be released from school teaching for agreed periods of time, in order to more effectively mentor student (and indeed novice) teachers.

Conclusion: The Politics of Educational Transformation

Arguments that we live in a post-capitalist, post-industrial, or postmodern era can be contested, as can the Radical Right argument set out in only slightly different ways by Conservative and New Labour governments, that the only future for humankind is the application of free market economics to the societies of the world. Yet a Radical Left re-organization of global and national societies, and of their educational apparatuses, committed to egalitarianism and economic and social justice, remains viable.

Radical Right models, even with the social democrat gloss applied by New Labour, are of little relevance in this endeavour. School practices need to be changed, rather than accepted and reproduced, therefore the emphasis should be on challenging the dominant neo-liberal and neo-conservative cultures, rather than reproducing and reinforcing them. Radical Right and Centrist ideology on ITE serves a society aiming only for the hegemony of the few and the entrenchment of privilege, not the promotion of equality and social justice which celebrates difference and solidarity.

On this, Paula Allman writes:

The approach to critical education that I advocate in my publications is an approach that is aimed at enabling people to engage in an abbreviated experience of pro-alternative, counter-hegemonic, social relations. These are social relations within which people can learn to 'read' the world critically and glimpse humanity's possible future beyond the horizon of capitalism. (Allman, 2001:13, and see also Allman, 1999 and 2001).

Teacher educators and cultural workers from various other ideological and political perspectives may well agree with a number of the recommendations I make. They may not agree with the explicit emancipatory, critical and transformatory role of teacher educators, education, and schooling in the interests of social justice and egalitarianism. Yet this role, and the role of teacher educators and teachers as intellectuals instead of mechanics or technicians, are necessary for the development of a critical, active, interrogating, citizenry – thoughtful, questioning, perceptive as well as skilled – pursuing a democratic, anti-authoritarian, socially responsible and socially and economically just society.

Much of the Left has vacated the ideological battlefield during neo-liberal media offensives and government attempts at strengthening control and hegemony over the schooling and teacher education ideological state apparatuses. This is true of the caution of erstwhile Left writers, educationalists and ideologues in Britain in their retreat from the cultural and educational advances of the 1970s and 1980s. It is a feature of education policy and analysis and other policy areas (typified by the rightward Labour party shift) that has culminated in the New Labour Party of Tony Blair.

And it is true too, I suggest, of the currently anti-transformative direction of some elements of Radical Left theorizing and teacher education course development, in Britain and the USA.

I recognize and do not underestimate the limitations on the agency and autonomy of teachers, teacher educators, cultural workers and their sites, and indeed, the very limited autonomy of the education policy/political region of the state from the economic. McLaren and Baltodano note (with respect to California in particular, but with a wider global resonance) the 'greater restrictions on the ability of teachers to use their pedagogical spaces for emancipatory purposes'. (2000: 34). Hence, I give rather less credence than Ball (1994a) and Smyth and Shatlock (1998) to the notion that teachers, and teacher educators, are able to 'co-write' texts such as curriculum and assessment circulars (see Hill, 2001a; Evans, Davies and Penney, 1994).

The repressive cards within the ideological state apparatuses are stacked against the possibilities of transformative change through Initial Teacher Education and through schooling. But historically and internationally, this often has been the case. Spaces do exist for counter-hegemonic struggle – sometimes (as now) narrower, sometimes (as in the 1960s and 1970s) broader. Having recognized the limitations, though, and having recognized that there is *some* potential for transformative change, I maintain that whatever space does exist should be exploited.

By itself, divorced from other arenas of progressive struggle, its success will be limited. This necessitates the development of pro-active debate both by, and within, the Radical Left. But it necessitates more than that. It calls for direct engagement with liberal pluralist (modernist or postmodernist) and with Radical Right ideologies and programmes, in all the areas of the state and of civil society, in and through all the Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses.

As intellectual workers educating teachers, the ideological intervention of teacher educators is likely to have more impact than that of sections of the workforce less saliently engaged in ideological production and reproduction. But, by itself, the activity of transformative intellectual teacher educators, however skilful and committed, can have only an extremely limited impact on an egalitarian transformation of society. Unless linked to a grammar of resistance, such resistant and counter-hegemonic activity is likely to fall on relatively stony ground. As McLaren and Baltodano suggest,

Reclaiming schools and teacher education as arenas of cultural struggle and education in general as a vehicle for social transformation in conservative/capitalist times is premised upon a clear commitment to organize parents, students and communities. It stipulates that society needs to develop critical educators, community activists, organic intellectuals, and teachers whose advocacy of social justice will illuminate their pedagogical practices. (McLaren and Baltodano, 2000:41. See also Rikowski, 2001f; McLaren and Farahmandpur, 2001c; Rikowski and McLaren, 2001).

In keeping aloft ideals of plurality of thought, of economic and social justice and of dissent, teachers, teacher educators and the community must resist the ideological hijacking of our past, present and future. Teachers and teacher educators are too

strategically valuable in children's/students' education to have slick media panaceas and slanted ministerial programmes attempting to dragoon them into being uncritical functionaries of a conservative state and of the fundamentally and essentially inegalitarian and immoral society and education system reproduced by the capitalist state and its apparatuses.

The particular perspectives defined in this Chapter, from a Radical Left position, are based on a belief that teachers must not only be skilled, competent, classroom technicians. They must also be critical and reflective and transformative and intellectual, that is to say, they should operate at the critical level of reflection. They should enable and encourage their pupils/ students, not only to gain basic and advanced knowledge and skills: they should enable and encourage their pupils/ students to question, critique, judge and evaluate 'what is', 'what effects it has', and 'why?' And to be concerned and informed about equality and economic and social justice – in life beyond the classroom door *and* within the classroom walls.

Notes

1. Together with others, I have advanced Radical Left principles and policy for Initial Teacher Education in Hill (1989, 1991a, 1994 a, b, 1996a, c, d, 1997b; 2000d, 2001d); Hill, Cole and Williams (1997); Cole, Hill, Soudien and Pease (1997); Hillcole Group (1991); Hillcole Group (1997).
2. See also Cole, 1998a; Smyth and Shatlock, 1998; Ainley, 1999, 2000; McMurtry, 1999; McLaren 2000; Rikowski, 2000/2001, 2001a, c, d; Brady and Thorpe, 2000; Smyth *et al.* 2000; Hatcher and Hirtt, 1999; Hatcher, 2001; Hill, 2001b).
3. For Radical Left discussion of these principles, see for example Hillcole Group (1991, 1997); Cole (1988, 2000); Cole, Hill and Shan (1997); Hill and Cole (1999b); Hill (1994c, 1997b, 2000d, 2001b); Hill, McLaren, Cole and Rikowski (1999, 2001). In Australia this tradition is exemplified in the work of Kevin Harris (1979, 1984, 1994), and in the USA, most recently, by Peter McLaren and his associates (e.g. McLaren and Farahmandpur, 1999, 2000, 2001a, b).
4. Unlike some commentators (O' Hear, 1988), and unlike the clear implication in Circular 14/ 93 (DFE, 1993a), Calderhead and Gates assert that such processes appear to apply not only to experienced teachers but also to student teachers (Calderhead and Gates, 1993:9), though, like McIntyre (1993), they note that,

when teacher educators expect student teachers to conduct insightful and analytical evaluations of their lessons ... this may well be a very high level demand to which few students are able to respond since 'changes in student teachers', and even experienced teachers' levels of reflection appear to occur only over fairly lengthy periods of time.

(Calderhead and Gates, 1993: 9).
5. See Stone (1981) and some readings of Gramsci concerning the nature of hard study, and the criticisms of 'liberal progressive' pedagogy contained in Sarup (1983); Brehony (1992); Epstein (1993); Cole, Hill, Soudien and Pease (1997); Hill, Cole and Williams (1997). There are numerous definitions of radical and transformative teachers and teaching. *Radical Teacher* (2000), 'a socialist and feminist journal on the theory and practice of teaching', states:

radicalteacher (rad i k'l te char) n.

FIRST USED IN 1975, as two words, when a magazine of that name appeared, edited by a group of dissident college teachers of English. By 1982, small groups of academics throughout the United States and England thought of themselves as radicalteachers and began a process of self-examination on this issue. By the year 1999, it was written in its present form as one word and was synonymous with (the archaic) "teacher."

1. one who provides a student- rather than a teacher-centred classroom; nonauthoritarian. 2. one who shares rather than transmits information. 3. one who aids in student growth and empowerment by drawing out what is already there and latent. 4. one who respects students. 5. Radicalteachers have a relatively coherent set of commitments and assumptions from which they teach, and they are aware of it; this awareness distinguishes them from rocks,

mollusks, and nonradical teachers. 6. Radicalteachers possess the capacity to listen well and the self-control not to always fill silence with the sound of their own voices. 7. Radicalteachers believe that theory and practice are not separable. 8. Radicalteachers are concerned with process as much as product. 9. Good intentions are not enough to create a radicalteacher. 10. Radicalteachers do not divide neatly into four component parts: scholarship, teaching, service, and institutional need. 11. Radicalteachers understand the power of language and do not refer to their part-time faculty colleagues as part time persons (or people). 12. The teaching of radicalteachers (radicalteaching, v.) is holistic: it assumes that minds do not exist separate from bodies and that the bodies or material conditions, in which the potential and will to learn reside, are female as well as male and in a range of colors; that thought grows out of lived experience and that people come from a variety of ethnic, cultural, and economic backgrounds; that people have made different life choices and teach and learn out of a corresponding number of perspectives. 13. Radicalteachers work with themselves, their classes, and their colleagues to discover, name, and change sexism, racism, classism, and heterosexism. 14. Radicalteachers demand a lot from their students; e.g. "we can refuse to accept passive, obedient learning and insist upon critical thinking" (Adrienne Rich, "Taking Women Students Seriously," *Radical Teacher* #11, 1979.) 15. There are varieties of radicalteachers; e.g. feminist radicalteachers are not in every respect identical with socialist radicalteachers. 16. Radicalteachers do not assume they know it all. Pamela Annas, editor, *New Words: A Postrevolutionary Dictionary*, 2008. (Annas, 2001).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Research Methodology

A variety of quantitative and qualitative research procedures have been used for this thesis, although the major research method has been the questionnaire. In this account (1), I outline the design of my research and relate it to the aims of the thesis.

First, I set out a rationale for the three research methods I have used, in terms of their fitness for purpose. I also justify the 'committed' value-laden nature of the research. I then describe these three methods in terms of the method of collecting data, the nature of the data generated, the mode of analysis, and the limitations of each method. Finally, I evaluate the *overall* research design, looking at strengths and weaknesses.

Part One: Methods and Rationale

Rationale for the Research Design – The Relationship between the Aims and Methods of the Thesis

The aims of this thesis have influenced the research design. Positivistic questionnaire methods are combined with the action research aspects of course developments and of political educational activism.

The questionnaire, for example, is designed to compare theory-based, HEI-based ITE courses with two other types of course. These are practice-based, school-based routes into teaching, such as the Articled Teacher route, and the relatively de-theorized HEI-based courses, which came into operation following the CATE criteria of 1992 and 1993 (DFE 1992a; 1993a), little revised in the New Labour criteria of 1997 and 1998 (DfEE, 1997a, 1998a). In addition to the standard New Teacher in School (NTIS) questions about teaching skills and techniques, I deliberately included in the questionnaires an additional number of questions designed to elicit answers concerning critical reflectiveness and issues of social justice. (This is developed below, where I discuss 'The Nature of the Data – The Questions Asked').

For this, the *positivistic* method has advantages: it is large scale in scope and the data produced can be rapidly processed by computer. The questionnaire to novice teachers from a variety of HEIs and from a variety of routes into teaching, together with the questionnaire to headteachers, sought to elicit responses to, and/or evaluation of, the HEI-based and school-centred ITE courses. In brief, the aim was to determine whether there was widespread dissatisfaction with aspects of ITE courses, and whether the Radical Right and the Conservative government were correct in proclaiming, for example, that too much theory, too much 'loony left' egalitarianism, and too much liberal child-centredness, informed such courses.

The questionnaires to both novice (NQT) and student teachers, and the questionnaire to headteachers, also contained open-ended questions to enable qualitative depth to flesh out the approximately two thousand responses collated. However, due to limitations of space, the thesis concentrates on the reactions of novice teachers and headteachers to specific elements and issues in ITE illuminated by the closed questions within the questionnaire, rather than extending across the whole range of data produced by large-scale open-ended questionnaires.

The *literature search* and the *action research* also relate to thesis objectives. These aim to identify, analyse, ideologically categorize and then criticize various perspectives on teacher education and, by identifying Radical Left components of ITE courses, to help develop Radical Left policy for Initial Teacher Education.

Action Research Methodology

I refer to the six years (1990-1996) of developing, managing and evaluating a proclaimedly Radical Left BEd course at Crawley as *action research*. This involved a variety of methods - from qualitative and quantitative questionnaires to participant observation, to interview.

This action research was 'concerned with diagnosing a problem in a specific context and attempting to solve it in that context ... the ultimate objective being to improve practice in another.' (Cohen and Manion, 1994:186).

The dissatisfaction I experienced with the state of critical teacher education from within my own HEI is the primary cause for research. The principle justification for my use of action research in the context of my own educational setting was improvement of practice. I concentrated on the specific problem of the unsatisfactory (unsystematic, uncritical and ineffective) way of training/educating student teachers.

Looking through my particular Radical Left ideological lenses, I evaluated the content and the outcomes of a number of ITE courses. I taught on, indeed co-ordinated, the core sociological/ contextual/ political units on the WSIHE BEd and PGCE courses, both Primary and Secondary, from 1984 to 1990. These compulsory ninety-hour undergraduate and sixty-four hour postgraduate courses were undertaken by over two thousand student teachers. I also taught sessions on and helped design undergraduate ITE courses at Brighton University and, more recently, guest sessions at University College Northampton.

Areas that seemed to me to be problematic were defined by student teacher responses in essays and also in verbal responses, not only during seminar discussions but also incidental 'chats' – the daily unstructured and semi-structured informal individual and group interviews. I was also dissatisfied with a number of student actions in school classrooms, and their teaching practice/ serial school experience files.

In particular, the overwhelming majority of their lesson plan evaluations appeared to me to display two major weaknesses. Firstly, they were too untheorized in general, failing to link theory with evaluations of their own practice, and to theorize their evaluations of other teachers' practice. Secondly, they were too uncritical, too accepting of whatever practice they were observing or taking part in. These weaknesses accorded with conservative or, far more commonly, liberal-progressive approaches to ITE (the ideological positions developed, respectively, in Chapters Two and Four).

Prior to and during my research data collection period (1989-96), I therefore engaged in *participant observation*. I used the gamut of methods of observing, interviewing, conversing, collecting and searching documents such as essays and student teaching files, and simply 'hanging out'. Over a number of years, such observations formed the basis of my appraisal of weak areas within ITE and of my Curriculum Design for the Radical Left course at Crawley. Yet although this *participant observation* and *action research* significantly informed the fine-tuning of content, pedagogy, staffing and school selection in the Crawley BEd course, I will only acknowledge (rather than detail) this ongoing evaluation as one aspect of the thesis methodology. This is because the primary method of research and major source of material for the thesis was the questionnaire, as stated above.

Qualitative methods of collecting information were suitable for my formative evaluations of the effect of the course on student ideology, because I was seeking insight as well as statistical evidence. Qualitative techniques involve more open-ended 'free response' questions based on informal loosely structured interviews, observation or diaries. Much of my activity during the five years of my course leadership, (together with the sixth and final year of the course during which I remained in contact with Crawley BEd students), took the format of being a participant observer. In some sessions at times, I wanted to *stand back* and observe what was happening. Therefore at times I attempted to become a *non-participant observer*, one who 'stands aloof from the group activities they are investigating and eschews group membership' (idem).

As an ideologically committed participant with a major stake in the professional, academic and ideological outcomes of the course, this proved impossible for me. It cannot, therefore, be said that I was at any time a non-participant observer. Moreover, I am aware that the student teachers, NQTs and teaching staff colleagues (both school teachers and HEI tutors) over whom I had some power, may well have, to an extent, been playing a game, telling me what (it was no doubt frequently clear) I wanted to hear.

In addition, the students that I 'took to', and listened to the most were, predominantly, those who appeared to me the most politically interesting – the socialists, the Socialist Workers Party and Labour Party activists, the activists in the Women's and the anti-racist movements. I spent less time, in general, in discussions

(both informal 'chats' and seminars/tutorials) with students who appeared to me to represent conventional middle-class and conservative backgrounds and views.

Accepting some of the limitations of quantitative data (commonly defined, for example by Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989; Bell, 1987; Cohen and Manion, 1989), as well as acknowledging my own political bias, I opted for the 'more objective', quantitative, methodology as the primary means of data collection.

Questionnaire Methodology

The questionnaire was developed according to the scientific paradigm for social research that, as Hitchcock and Hughes observe, ensures:

Quantitative data can be measured more easily, patterns can be established more clearly, and therefore any patterns which are discovered and generalisations made will be accurate since they are located within a large body of materials. The use of mathematical models and the notion of 'correlation', that is establishing the degree of fit, agreement, or association between various factors or variables in a piece of research, works much better when there are large numbers or big samples involved. (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989:24).

Cohen and Manion (1989) suggest that surveys have three intentions:

Typically, surveys gather at a particular point in time with the intention of a) describing the nature of existing conditions, or b) identifying standards against which existing conditions can be compared, or c) determining the relationships that exist between specific events. Thus, surveys may vary in their levels of complexity from those which provide simple frequency counts to those which present relational analysis. (Cohen and Manion, 1989:97).

The intentions of my own research match two of these categories, in that I sought to describe the existing condition of the satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the various aspects of ITE courses (category [a]), and to determine the relationships between such satisfactions/dissatisfactions within particular course types (category [c] above).

The committed Social Justice dimension of this Research

For the major part of my data collection for this thesis, I preferred this 'harder', more scientific, survey questionnaire method. I now attempt a justification of the 'committed' and overtly value-laden nature of this thesis/ research.

The research design had a particular rationale. Firstly, it was to safeguard against my own unconscious manipulation of the evidence I was seeing. Secondly, it was to safeguard against accusations that might be levelled against me of 'fiddling the books', of manipulating the data, solely and consciously to validate my public ideological intentions, and/or my 'success' as a course leader.

My research is clearly *engaged* or *committed research*, described by Sikes (in Griffiths, 1998:x) as 'research for social justice'. My research is 'about taking sides and getting change in education through educational research' (Griffiths, 1998:3). Clearly, this places ethics /morality within universal principles, rather than restricting them to local contexts (as would postmodernists such as Simons and Usher, 2000).

I am aware of the ideological impetus for the aims of this thesis, and also of the stake I have in it – researching the success of six years of my professional life (for five years of which I was professionally responsible for leading the course). I also know that critics of my own professional leadership and of my ideological principles (and the way in which the latter has affected the former) are aware of these factors, too. Hence I wished to make my thesis, and the data collection and interpretation on which part of the thesis rests, as 'fireproof', as 'objective' as possible. As Connolly notes,

There is little point in producing research reports that are clearly regarded as biased and/or partisan. If the effectiveness of ... research is in its ability to convince others of the significance of the issues raised, then there is a need to provide research evidence that is generally acceptable among academics, policy-makers and practitioners. This ... requires careful and rigorous use of the fundamental methods of social research (2001:167).

I agree with Phillips that

what is crucial for the objectivity of any inquiry - whether it is qualitative or quantitative - is the critical spirit in which it has been carried out ... Objectivity is the label – the 'stamp of approval' – that is used for inquiries that are at one end of the continuum; they are inquiries that are prized because of the great care and responsiveness to criticism with which they have been carried out. (Phillips, 1993:71).

However, the objectivity of approach is supported by demonstrably objective methods, in order to limit judgemental variance. As Kerlinger (1973) suggests:

Objective methods of observation are those in which anyone following the prescribed rules will assign the same numerals to the objects and sets of objects as anyone else. An objective procedure is one in which agreement among observers is at a maximum. In variance terms,

observer variance is at a minimum. This means that judgemental variance, the variance due to differences in judges' assignment of numerals to objects, is zero. (1973:491, in Phillips, 1993:70).

I follow the *procedural objectivity* distinguished by Eisner (1993), achieved by

using a method that eliminates, or aspires to eliminate, the scope for personal judgement. One of the most common examples of such a method is the objectively scored achievement test. Once the test has been constructed, identifying a correct or incorrect response does not require interpretation. Although there are interpretative issues at stake at the level of test construction, at the level of scoring, the optical scanner will do. Since no judgement is needed in scoring, the procedure is procedurally objective - hence, we say that we have an objective test or an objective method for scoring responses. (Eisner, 1993:50–51).

My procedure does not, however, assume the possibility of *ontological objectivity* through which to obtain 'an undistorted view of reality' (Eisner, 1993:50), a 'pristine unmediated grasp of the world as it is' (ibid: 52). I am happy to settle, in this thesis, for as much procedural objectivity as possible.

My research is not only 'committed' research: it has a particular commitment – to social justice. In 'the continuing and often raging debate about bias, objectivity, positivism and the production of useful knowledge' (Griffiths, 1998: 7), my 'pre-eminent commitment' is 'to the fundamental principles of social justice, equality and participatory democracy' (Troyna and Carrington, 1989:208). It is within the tradition of emancipatory or critical research (see, for example, Hood, Mayall and Oliver, 1999; Connolly, 2001:166; Rose and Grosvenor, 2001).

The thesis research can be categorized as research for social justice in two respects (Griffiths, 1998:26). Firstly, it is focused to a major (but not exclusive extent) on social justice issues – on inequalities and policy. Secondly, it is research that is 'about' something else – teacher education, and, more contextually, schooling and education policy. But the research framework – the questions asked and considered important, the analysis used and privileged (the Marxist framework) – is that privileged by Troyna and Carrington above.

The actual methodology itself is not emancipatory other than to a minor degree of giving a 'voice' to the questionnaire respondents by summarizing and collating their responses. The research was not, other than in a very minor way, structured by the researched themselves, nor will it be shared with them other than through standard academic and research dissemination processes.

This research can be located within the various discussions about the desirability and possibility of 'neutral' research. The most recent series of debates are those surrounding Hammersley's (2000) *Taking Sides in Social research: essays on partisanship and bias* (itself a follow-up Foster *et al*, 1996) and the various critiques of their demand for 'value-free' research (e.g. the review symposium of Hammersley, 2000 – viz. Connolly, 2001; Delamont, 2001; Oliver, 2001).

On the one hand, there are the self-styled 'methodological purists' such as Peter Foster, Roger Gomm and Martin Hammersley (e.g. Foster, 1990a, b, 1991; Foster, Gomm and Hammersley, 1996; Foster and Hammersley, 1996; Hammersley, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2000, and Hammersley's reply to his critics below in Hammersley, 2001). These claim that facts can be value-free, and they question the objectivity of committed research. Hammersley maintains that the politicization of social research is not only misguided, but inherently dangerous (cited in Connolly, 2001:164-5), erasing 'the distinction between political struggle and academic discussion ... it turns sociology into a political morality play' (Hammersley, 2000:149).

On the other, there are critics such as Paul Connolly (1992, 2001), David Gillborn, (1995), Morwenna Griffiths (1998), Morwenna Griffiths and Barry Troyna (1995), Mehreen Mirza (1995), Mike Oliver (2001), Troyna (1994), Troyna and Carrington (1989) and Cecile Wright (1990). Griffiths (1998:44-64) and Connolly, (2001:166-167) summarize and comment on these debates. In summary, their comments are threefold. Firstly, both Connolly and Griffiths note that all research is political – the very choice of research question or problem is a political choice, as is the selection of whose voice and interests are expressed or likely to be expressed. Secondly, they both suggest that the likely political effects of research have to be considered, for example the impact on groups that are discriminated against, oppressed and exploited. Will it, or is it likely to, entrench the existing relations of social/economic/political domination and subordination?

Thirdly, Griffiths goes on to argue, against the methodological purists, that the value-laden nature of all facts and information is

not helpfully described as 'bias', since the term 'bias' depends on the possibility of there being a neutral view ... (hence) 'perspective' is a better description than 'bias' since knowledge of human beings gets its meaning from the value system of the knowers (1998:46).

Griffiths then argues the merits of postmodernist and poststructuralist approaches to social research.

My own research position, as might be expected from the discussion in Chapters Seven and Nine of this thesis, and specifically the structuralist neo-Marxist critique of postmodernism, is that Griffith's first two points span the gamut of critical and social justice research perspectives, from poststructuralist to Marxist. However, in relation to her third point, my own research and academic/political activity would insist on locating the 'value systems of the knowers' within their 'positions of domination and subordination that characterise social relations' (Connolly, 1992:137).

In my own attempt to fulfil a role as an organic intellectual (in my research, in political activism in street action, in Council chambers and in parliamentary elections, and in writing for/with a variety of audiences/ groups) this is what I have been trying to do – to unmask and critique positions of domination/subordination within and through teacher education policy, and to highlight and stimulate resistance to neo-liberal capitalist domination of policy and its detheorized technical efficiency research agenda that has been neutered of a social justice and equality dimension. The action research and quantitative questionnaire methodologies have, in their *foci*, deliberately highlighted issues of social justice and the critical transformative role of teachers.

Part Two: The *New Teacher In School* style Hill Questionnaire Surveys of NQTs and Student Teachers, designed to elicit Attitudes to Aspects of ITE Courses.

I now set out data on respondents and response rates and discuss the design and effectiveness of the large scale longitudinal and comparative survey of 1159 Newly Qualified Teachers' (NQTs) and 497 final year undergraduate student teachers' evaluations of their ITE courses. The questionnaire appears in *Appendix 2*. The response rates are given in *Table 1* below.

The findings were gained from postal questionnaire surveys carried out approximately six months after graduation/certification, i.e. during the NQTs' second term of teaching (for those in teaching posts). The cohorts surveyed finished their courses in 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994 and 1995.

The NQT Surveys

Details of NQT questionnaire respondents

Institutions were surveyed on the basis of where I was able to gain access to student teachers' and NQTs' names and addresses. I also used the HEI facilities of two other institutions where a co-member of the Hillcole Group was on the staff, and one HEI was used, for one year, while I was pursuing the first year of my PhD. Thus, the selection is circumstantial, in that I surveyed the HEIs to which I could gain access.

Table 1: Details of NQT questionnaire respondents

4 Year Primary BEd/ BA (QTS)	479
4 Year Secondary BEd/ BA (QTS)	156
1 Year Primary PGCE	280
1 Year Secondary PGCE	174
1 Year Primary Articled Teachers	54
1 Year Secondary Articled Teachers	8
2 year PGCE	8
Total	1159

The number of *NQT* respondents, at 1159, is considerably larger than those presented by HMI and Ofsted in *The New Teacher in School Reports* (HMI, 1988; Ofsted 1993b), the Modes of Teacher Education (MOTE) report of 1992 (Barrett et al., 1992) and the MOTE projects described by Furlong *et al* (2000), although the balance between course types is different and the breadth of the selection of colleges is narrower. Similarly, the total number of *student teachers* surveyed, (497, of which- 423 were primary and 74 secondary) is larger than the HMI and Ofsted surveys, though slightly smaller than the Whiting *et al.* (1996) and the Whitty *et al* (1997) reports.

The Student Teacher Surveys

A survey of 94 undergraduate final-year Primary student teachers from four southern English institutions – WSIHE, the Crawley Centre for Teacher Education, Southtown (then called South Coast) University – was reported by Hill and Cole (1997b) and carried out in Spring 1994, at the time of the controversy surrounding ITE, school-basing, and the role of theory in ITE in connection with the Education Bill/Act of 1994. In Spring 1995, a further 194 final-year Primary students on four-year undergraduate BEd/ BA(QTS) courses were surveyed. The students were at Crawley, WSIHE/ChiHE and at South Coast University. In spring 1996, a further 127 Primary undergraduate student teachers in their final year were surveyed. In addition, a number of final year Secondary BEd/BA(QTS) students were also surveyed from ChiHE . These HEIs were selected because I had access to them.

The questionnaire used was identical to that for the NQT survey. The 1994 student teacher surveys were carried out by distribution and subsequent return, in the first two cases by me, and in the second two cases through third parties. The 1995 and 1996 student teacher surveys were carried out directly by me, with distribution and immediate return. Details of the survey respondents are set out below.

Course evaluation by final-year Crawley Primary BEd student teachers

In Summer 1994, Summer 1995 and Summer 1996 all final year (Year 4) Crawley BEd and all BOC/ BRC based WSIHE/ ChiHE **Primary** BEd students were given

the same questionnaire. One neighbouring institution (Southtown University) was also surveyed in Summer 1994 and Summer 1995. The numbers of respondents are as follows:

Table 2: Numbers and Institutional Affiliations of Student Teacher Respondents

	Number of respondents
Year 4 Crawley Primary BEd 1994	19
Year 4 WSIHE BEd 1994	21
Year 4 Crawley Primary BEd 1995	26
Year 4 WSIHE BEd 1995	84
Year 4 Crawley Primary BEd 1996	23
Year 4 WSIHE BEd 1996	104

For comparative purposes, the data from Crawley Primary BEd and WSIHE/ ChiHE Primary BEd students can be set in the wider context of Primary BEd/ BA (QTS) students. In Summer 1994 and 1995 I surveyed:

	Number of respondents
Year 4 Southtown Uni. Primary BEd 1994	62
Year 4 Southtown Uni Primary BEd 1995	84
Total: All Primary BEd/ BA (QTS) Students Summer 1994, 1995 and 1996: Total	423

In addition, final year **Secondary** BEd students were surveyed at WSIHE and at the South Coast University in 1994 and at WSIHE in 1995. (There were no Secondary Crawley Students).

	Number of respondents
Year 4 WSIHE Secondary BEd 1994	7
Year 4 WSIHE Secondary BEd 1995	25
Year 4 South Coast Uni Secondary BEd 1994	35
Year 4 South Coast Uni Secondary BEd 1995	7
Total: All Secondary BEd/ BA (QTS) Students	74

Total: All Primary and Secondary Bed/BA(QTS) Students 1994, 1995, 1996	497
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Problems and Limitations of the *New Teacher in School* Style Questionnaire Methodology

There are a number of problems with the methodology of this survey.

Firstly, the size of some of the sub-groups (such as Articled Teachers) is relatively small. Even so, the sub-group sizes are larger than the Ofsted (1993b), the Hill (1993a, b), the Blake and Hill (1995) NQT surveys and the Hill and Cole (1997b) student teacher survey (the respective numbers are 1149 in this survey, 300 NQTs in the OFSTED 1993 Report, 355 NQTs in the Hill (1993a, b) and the Blake and Hill (1995) surveys, and 166 in the Hill and Cole (1997b) student teacher survey).

Some of the data presented in percentage form rest upon very small numbers of respondents in some of the categories, and also small sample sizes (for example, the sizes of the Crawley BEd cohorts vary from 24 to 33). The most recent *New Teacher in School* report (of 1993) also acknowledged that sample sizes are small in some cases (Ofsted, 1993b, para. 4.20:28).

Secondly, the NQT assessment of aspects of their training is problematic, in that it was determined by self-completion questionnaires that invited responses on a 1–5 satisfaction rating against a list of categories. The problems relate to the validity of the selected items, their match to the particular course elements undertaken by students, the possible exclusion of significant additional items, possible factors influencing responses at a given moment in time and the robustness of a self-reporting five point scale. In the 1993 Ofsted Report, for example, it is acknowledged that 'while individual views can be reported accurately, these are essentially perceptions which may or may not be an accurate reflection of the nature or quality of the matters about which the views were expressed' (ibid.: Appendix 1, para. A1.6, 43). Again, this same criticism may be made of the survey data presented in this thesis. While I do not uncritically accept the concept of 'voice', I do suggest that the opinions voiced should be heard.

Thirdly, there is the problem of drawing too confident a set of conclusions about the effectiveness of an ITE system on the basis of a sample from five institutions surveyed between 1989 and 1996. In the Ofsted report of 1993, there is no indication of which courses of training were being represented, nor how wide was the variety of responses between and within institutions. The use of the blanket category of BEd and PGCE conceals huge variations of practice, which more local studies could investigate with benefit (Blake and Hill, 1995; Hill and Cole, 1997b).

In this survey the institutions (other than WSIHE/ChIHE and Crawley where I worked) remain anonymous. This was an undertaking given to some institutions in order to secure their participation in the survey. The courses may or may not be representative of ITE courses nationally. Also their student intakes may or may not be similar to national intakes. However, other than in the Crawley BEd, with a totally Mature and Non-Standard Entry cohort selected overwhelmingly by me, there is no reason to believe that the courses or the student intakes vary markedly from courses nationally (3).

Furthermore, there are differences within each Primary course, for example, between Primary and Lower Years/ First School and Primary Upper Years/ Middle School and within each Secondary course (for example, between the different Main Subjects). Some evaluative conclusions about particular courses could be made in a follow-up study using a methodology of curriculum analysis, plus qualitative data such as student and staff interviews, together with quantitative data such as is presented here.

Another problem with the NQT and the Student Teacher surveys is the weighting of the responses from one of the five institutions. In the NQT survey one HEI, WSIHE/CHIHE, provided 53% of the responses; in the student teacher survey, WSIHE/CHIHE provided a similar percentage of the responses.

Additional reports such as the NQT and student teacher surveys presented in this thesis could serve to minimize these methodological problems, by building a bigger data base drawn from a wider variety and number of Institutions.

The courses were operating under different sets of CATE Criteria. The PGCE courses finishing in the Summers of 1988, and 1989 PGCE courses surveyed, were operating under the 1984 CATE Criteria; those of 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993 (Primary only) under the 1989 criteria; those of 1994, 1995 and 1996 under the 1992/93 criteria and those of 1999 and 2001 under the 1997/1998 criteria. With regard to BEd/ BA (QTS) courses, those finishing in 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992 were taking place under the 1984 criteria; those ending in 1993, 1994, 1995 and 1996 under the 1989 criteria; and Primary courses under the 1993 criteria or their 1997 and 1998 revisions.

It is clearly very interesting to compare 1989 CATE course levels of NQT satisfaction with levels of satisfaction resulting from courses operating under the more school-based (and less theorized) 1992 Secondary and 1993 Primary CATE Criteria, 'to compare the outcomes of different ways of training (sic) teachers' (Barton *et al.*, 1994:540). Hence, below, I compare responses of PGCE NQTs and student teachers from pre-1992/93 criteria-based courses (*Table 4*). (None of the data presented so far relate to four-year BEd/ BA(QTS) courses operating under these criteria. Other than for the final-year students surveyed in Summer 1999 at one institution – data not included in this thesis – none of the undergraduate courses surveyed were operating under those criteria.

The Nature of the Data – The Questions Asked

The questions in the NTIS style survey replicate those used in the *New Teacher in School* reports of 1982 and 1988. The Ofsted report of 1993 (Ofsted, 1993b) asked even fewer questions. *Additional questions* were asked for this survey in recognition of the limited nature of HMI/ OFSTED questions. These limitations chiefly concern questions of social justice, of 'critical reflection' (see Zeichner and Liston, 1987; Adler, 1991; Hill, 1991a, 1992a, 1994c, 1997b) and of the weight given in ITE Courses to issues of antiracism, anti-sexism, anti-classism, critical theory ('critiquing the relationship between teachers, schools and society'). Questions were also inserted on whether courses had facilitated discussion on such issues as 'the teacher as a political or as a non-political classroom practitioner', critical evaluation of current practice and developments in education, democratic participative pedagogy, teachers as political activists and teachers as 'transformative intellectuals' engaged in transforming children's views of society.

These questions were added since they are particular foci of criticism of ITE by Government and by Radical Right 'think tanks' and polemicists (as set out in Chapter Two). They are also foci of attachment for the Radical Left in general (as set out in Chapters Six and Ten).

The HMI/ Ofsted and this NQT survey contain *two* types of questions, asking respondents

1. to rank course elements/ aspects on a five-point scale.
2. to evaluate the balance within their courses of various dimensions of their courses.

Elsewhere (Hill, 1993b; Blake and Hill, 1995; Hill and Cole, 1997b) problems associated with the two types of questions in the OFSTED and the Hill NQT surveys have been discussed. The rating of 'how well prepared' NQTs felt by their ITE courses (e.g. 'well prepared to teach socially deprived children'[sic], 'well prepared to teach mixed ability groups', 'well prepared to promote equal opportunities for boys and girls') will have been answered in relation to ex-student/ NQT opinions of how important, or how pressing they felt their individual needs were in the light of their present circumstances, after about a term of teaching. For example, if an NQT is not engaged in teaching mixed ability classes, then there are no pressures on him/ her in this respect, s/he might well feel adequately prepared through the ITE course. Yet any individual NQT respondent might be placed in a school where the issue is prominent in the school's or own class(es) agenda, demanding considerable response and expertise and commitment. Faced with a considerable pressure, such a respondent might feel s/he has been inadequately prepared.

Contemporary government and media pressure at the time of responding to the surveys – 'back to basics', 'back to phonic methods of teaching reading', 'back to whole class teaching' - might raise the profile of various aspects of and styles of preparation for teaching, causing NQT anxiety/ dissatisfaction with one or more aspects of their ITE courses.

Similar considerations might apply to the second type of question too. For example, changes in the wider educational climate in the late 1980s to early 1990s evidenced a shift from Plowdenite progressivism as a dominant discourse in Primary Education, towards an official delegitimation of 'child-centredness' and 'relevance' (4), and a shift from an integrated curriculum in Primary schools towards a more traditional model of teaching and curriculum selection and organisation. This *might* serve to suggest to NQTs they had rather too much 'theory', too much 'egalitarianism' in their ITE courses, and too little emphasis on 'teaching methods'.

In addition, the ITE 'reforms' (e.g. the changes in curriculum content and the changes in location of ITE courses resulting from the CATE Criteria of 1992 and 1993), may well have become more 'embedded', being regarded as an unproblematic status quo, as less controversial and more acceptable.

At the same time, some respondents affected by course revisions may have been influenced by the degree of unpopularity of the Conservative Government, of Prime Minister Major, and, in particular, of Secretary of State for Education between 1992-1994, John Patten, and may have reacted *against* themes associated with Conservative rhetoric and policy. This negative reaction may well have persisted in more recent questionnaire responses. The Conservative Government scarcely improved its opinion poll ratings between 1994 and 1997.

However, having raised these various methodological problems, a clear strength of this NQT/student teacher survey is the very large-scale response. This serves to iron out, to average individual respondent, or cohort, peculiarities and particularities. Furthermore, the quantitative survey is given depth by the breadth, range and number of questions answered.

Part Three: The 'Ideological Value Added' Questionnaire Surveys of NQTs and Student Teachers, designed to elicit Course Effect on Attitude Change

The Questions Asked

The fifteen additional 'before and after' questions incorporated into the NQT and student teacher questionnaires of 1994, 1995, 1996 and 1997 were intended to enable the assessment of any 'ideological value added'.

The tables comparing responses to different ITE courses do indeed give different sets of responses, with, for example Crawley BEd students feeling better equipped at dealing with equal opportunities issues than WSIHE/ChiHE based students. Yet such data may not refer solely to the ITE course followed: it may also stem from students' presenting characteristics on entry to the course. In other words, Crawley BEd Students may have been more (or less) radical politically/ educationally than WSIHE/ChiHE students on entry to the course.

Hence, a questionnaire was devised to attempt to elicit 'ideological value added' by the addition of fifteen 'before the course' and fifteen 'after the course' questions to the NQT/ student teacher questionnaire. On each of the fifteen questions it is possible to chart, for each respondent, a difference of perspective during the course. When such 'gains' and 'losses' in score are averaged over all respondents from a particular course, and compared to average 'gains' and 'losses' with other course scores, it may be possible to infer a 'course effect'.

The fifteen 'before and after' questions ask firstly for '*opinion prior to starting your course on what your course should be like*', and, secondly for '*opinion now of what an ideal course of teacher education should be like*'.

The questions on how much emphasis there should be listed, *inter alia*, aspects of ITE courses such as education studies; anti-racism; anti-sexism; social egalitarianism; critically questioning and evaluating current practice and developments in education; using democratic teaching and learning methods, and, 'becoming a teacher who is a transformative intellectual (transforming children's view of society in favour of social justice)'. The full list of fifteen questions is set out in *Appendix 2*.

Methodological Problems

One methodological problem is that even if one or more cohorts of NQTs or student teachers does exhibit a greater change than others, the 'course' effect may not be the only variable in effecting such change. And even if there is 'a course effect', it may not be the simple adoption of the intended course ideology.

Other problems and limitations of the 'Ideological Value Added' Questionnaire are the same as those set out in relation to the *New Teacher In School* style questionnaire, which were discussed in Part Two of this account.

Part Four: Headteacher Opinion Surveys

Two Local Surveys of Headteacher Opinions

Do headteachers think there is too much theory and too much college-basing on the BEd and PGCE courses? Do they think there is too little time in schools?

Between them, the Hill (1993b); Blake and Hill (1995), Carrington and Tymms (1993); the Standing Conference of Principals (SCOP) (1994) and Hannan (1993, 1994, 1995) surveys have received the responses of 2052 headteachers to these questions (as set out in Hill and Cole [1997b]). While some headteachers may have been included in more than one survey, the cumulative response, from across the country – covering, respectively, 95, 51, 440, 264 and 1202 respondents, out of a total of around 25,000 headteachers in England and Wales – is clearly important.

In Spring 1992, ninety-five West Sussex and Hampshire Headteachers responded (of whom eighty were Primary) to a postal closed and open ended questionnaire, sent out following the announcement by Kenneth Clarke of proposals for basing Secondary ITE in schools. In June 1993, fifty-one Primary headteachers responded to an identical questionnaire sent at the time of the Patten-Blatch consultative proposals for basing Primary ITE in schools. (In each case one hundred and fifty headteachers were circulated, giving a response rate of 63 % in 1992, and 34% in 1993.

The problems and limitations of this questionnaire again relate to the scale and nature of response, and the conclusions possible, and are therefore similar to those referred to above in relation to the NQT and student teacher questionnaires

Conclusion

A follow-up survey could well seek to relate the differences in student response from the five institutions to the nature of the Primary and Secondary courses. This is initiated by the discussion, in Chapter Eight, into the effect (if any) of a course ideology on the ideologies of its students. In the 1994, 1995, 1996 and the additional 1999 NQT and Student Teacher questionnaires, there was an attempt at ascertaining 'ideological value' added, the mean change over the duration of the course in student/ NQT attitudes to a set of 15 statements (as set out below).

There are difficulties here in relating ITE course (or any course) ideology to differences between course 'rhetoric' and 'reality'. However, the enquiry and data collection in which I have engaged need a follow-up enquiry using qualitative methods. To discover why my intervention, the intervention of the Crawley BEd curriculum and the hidden curriculum of the course, had only limited transformative success, analysis could be based on structured and unstructured interviews, group discussion, (teaching) life histories and, indeed, observations of NQTs teaching.

Consequently, as I am particularly keen to understand the *perceptions* of the student/ NQT Teachers I was working with over five years, my follow-up to this thesis includes qualitative research methods, whose most fundamental characteristic is the express commitment to viewing events, actions, norms, values etc. from the perspective of the people who are being studied .

In conclusion, I want to make three points about quantitative and qualitative research.

The first is related to the structuralist neo-Marxist analysis and perspective advanced in this thesis, which is made particularly clear, I hope, in Chapter Nine, through my evaluation of the various state theories presented in Chapter Seven. My point is that there is an *element* of 'false consciousness' in respondent perceptions and answers, whether to quantitative or to qualitative methods of eliciting those perceptions. There may well be a lack of total fit, or congruence, between subjective and objective reality. Hence, wider analysis than respondents' perceptions is necessary in order to develop understanding of the objective conditions in a society, or within one of its structures (such as the apparatus of teacher education).

One example derives from my argument in Chapters Five and Six about the differences between *socialism*, social democracy (of the Crosland/ Tawney/ Hattersley variety in the UK, of the 1954 Bad Godesburg programme of the SPD in the west of Germany), and the rightward drift of such parties as New Labour in the UK, the PS in Portugal, PSOE in Spain and the German SPD). The *objective reality*, from a Marxist analysis focusing on inequality and destruction of the environment, is that objective conditions in both Western capitalism and globally, are worsening. There are grossly increasing inequalities both within and between national societies, and increasing eco-destruction of non-renewable resources. These, for Marxists, are seen as an inevitable consequence of capitalism, and point to an *increasing* need for a Marxist analysis and programme.

However, at the present time, this is neither the *subjective* view and analysis of the leaderships, nor of most members of social democratic type parties in Western Europe. Their view – currently shown, for example, by Blair in the UK and by Schroeder of the German SPD – is that far from there being an increased need for, or relevance of, socialist/ Marxist analysis and policy, the opposite is true: socialism (rhetoric, policy, iconography) must be ditched, while the need for Marxist or socialist analysis is *decreasing*.

The second and, to an extent, contrary point aligns with my negative comments about 'the dominant ideology thesis' and culturalist neo-Marxism in Chapter Nine. The analysis I put forward is that not all of the people are fooled all of the time. Regardless of the support for neo-liberalism proclaimed by most of the political class and media, people do resist, as *individuals*, as groups, as communities. People do protest, subvert, reject the ideologically hegemonic messages produced by the ideological and repressive state apparatuses. Such resistance derives, to an extent, from the material conditions of their lives and work.

Ideology

This leads on to the question of ideology and the salience of ideological hegemony. Ideology is important. As Eagleton puts it, 'What persuades men and women to mistake each other from time to time for gods or vermin is ideology.' (Eagleton, 1991:xiii).

The concept of ideology used in this thesis derives from Lukacs, Gramsci, Althusser, and Eagleton. I attempt to synthesize the Lukacsian concept of the material nature of class ideology with the Gramscian concept of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic ideologies, of dominant subaltern and resistant ideologies (further developed and applied by Hall, Giroux and Shor) and with Eagleton's concept of ideology as both a set of ideas and a concrete effect. (It is recognized that there are a number of contradictory readings, in particular, of Althusser and of Gramsci.) The analysis of ideology proposed here is that individuals, and groups as well, are, in Althusser's terms, interpellated, but that, in the ideological 'Culture Wars' they are 'hailed' both by dominant ideologies and by oppositional ideologies and their variously constructed notions of 'common sense'.

Ideologies are seen as arising substantially from their individual and group histories and experiences of material and social and economic relations and conditions. Ideology is thus seen as a contested, and commonly inconsistent, aspect of subjectivity, arising from multiple forces and social experiences deriving from, and structured by, social class position, and also from sexuality, 'race', gender, 'nation', religion, and other social forces.

I accept that 'ideology may be conceived in eminently negative terms as a critical concept which means a form of false consciousness or necessary deception which somehow distorts men's (sic) understanding of social reality: the cognitive value of ideas affected by ideology is called into question (Larrain, 1979:13-14). For Marx, ideology, as a distorted consciousness, has a particular negative connotation with two specific and connected features: firstly, the concealment of social contradictions, and secondly that the concealment serves the interests of a dominant class (Larrain, 1979:48). This latter view proposes that consciousness is not independent of material conditions, and that

the mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. (Marx, 1962:362 in Eagleton, 1991:80).

I am also accepting that the concept of ideology may be conceived in positive terms as the expression of the world-view of a class. To this extent one can talk of 'ideologies', in plural, as the opinions, theories and attitudes formed within a class in order to defend and promote its interests (ibid: 14). It is in this sense that hegemony is fought over, that there are 'culture wars' between rival ideologies.

The Lukacsian aspect of the theory of ideology that I am advancing here is that there is a relationship between a 'class subject' and its 'world view'. Eagleton criticizes Lukacs as too historicist a Marxist (ibid: 101) and supports Poulantzas for arguing that 'ideology, like social class itself, is an inherently *relational* phenomenon: it expresses less the way a class lives its conditions of existence, than the way it lives

them *in relation to the lived experience of other classes*' (Poulantzas 1973). I do not see that this relational aspect weakens the Lukacsian proposal. Indeed, Eagleton notes that 'Lukacs does in fact hold that there are heterogeneous 'levels' of ideology (Eagleton 1991, footnote 10:228).

Eagleton also criticizes Lukacs for downplaying what I have termed, in relation to state policy, as disarticulations, complexities and time lags. It is manifestly the case that there is a lack of complete congruence between a social class and its ideology (ibid: 100-106). However, while one can accept both the non-homogeneity of social classes and the contested nature of ideology 'in which ... meanings and values are stolen, transformed, appropriated across the frontiers of different classes and groups, surrendered, repossessed, reinflected', these Gramscian and post-Gramscian contestatory notions – such as 'culture wars', the battle for ideological hegemony, the acceptance of a complexity – should not mask the link between social class (complex through that notion is too) and class consciousness, or in other words the material basis of ideology.

The final point, in considering the methodology I have used in this thesis, is that the large-scale quantitative questionnaire produced data that contradicts the claims made by the Conservative governments of 1979-1987, and, by implication, New Labour, about the perceptions, the *subjective* beliefs of the various actors within the educational community, regarding Initial Teacher Education.

Notes

1. Preliminary descriptions of this research have been presented in Hill (1993b) and Blake and Hill (1995), with data on 355 undergraduate and postgraduate NQTs who graduated/ certificated in Summer 1990, 1991 or 1992. Description and analysis of 166 student teachers surveyed in Summer 1994 appear in Hill and Cole (1997b).
2. Thirty-three of the first cohort graduated with a BEd degree, of whom twenty-seven immediately went on to teach. Thirty of the second cohort of students also graduated (in Summer 1995).
3. Other than for the Crawley BEd course for 'Mature and Non- Standard Entry students', which publicly claims to be aiming at the development of 'critically reflective teachers'. While there was a fifty per cent response rate from members of this course, at 15 respondents this will not have skewed the overall pattern of the 1159 NQT responses, nor, at 42 Crawley student teachers, will this have skewed the overall 423 primary student teacher responses.
4. Whereas relevance in the 1960s and 1970s related to children's interests and to an education serving *all* children, not just the children of the middle class, it has now shifted to refer to what the Government (whether Conservative or New Labour) perceives to be the needs of industry.

Appendix 2

**STUDENT TEACHER AND NEWLY QUALIFIED
TEACHER COURSE EVALUATION**

Appendix 2 (a)

**Teacher Education and Training Course Evaluation
Questionnaire (1995)**

pp 414–422

**TEACHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING
COURSE EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE:
NEWLY QUALIFIED TEACHERS WHO
GRADUATED/CERTIFICATED IN SUMMER
1994**

FEBRUARY 1995

**ANONYMOUS WRITTEN CLOSED ENDED
EVALUATION**

Please tick the appropriate boxes

1. Course taken

TWO YEAR B.ED/BA (QTS)
FOUR YEAR B.ED/BA (QTS)
THREE YEAR B.ED/BA (QTS)
ONE YEAR PGCE
TWO YEAR PGCE
ARTICLED TEACHER
LICENSED TEACHER

2. Age Range

PRIMARY FIRST, INFANTS,
LOWER PRIMARY

PRIMARY MIDDLE, JUNIOR,
UPPER PRIMARY

SECONDARY

3. Name of Institution/College _____
4. Age on entry to the Teacher Training/
Education Course _____
5. Had you worked or been out of full-time
education for three years or more before
studying for your degree or PGCE?
i.e. were you a 'mature student'.
- YES
NO
6. How satisfied are you
with the teacher
training you have received?
- WELL SATISFIED
REASONABLY WELL SATISFIED
MODERATELY SATISFIED
LESS THAN SATISFIED
DISSATISFIED

ALL TEACHERS

7. Please could you rate on a Scale 1 to 5 the following aspects of your course in Teacher Education by circling the appropriate number.

I consider I was:

•given a good understanding of how to plan a programme of work over a period of time 1 2 3 4 5 given no understanding

•well prepared for classroom management 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

•well prepared to teach my own specialism 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

•given a good understanding of the place of my subject in the whole curriculum 1 2 3 4 5 given no understanding

•given a good understanding of the importance of language in learning 1 2 3 4 5 given no understanding

•well prepared to assess my pupils' work 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

- well prepared to assess the effectiveness of my own teaching 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared
- well prepared to teach in a team situation 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared
- well prepared to teach more able children 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared
- well prepared to teach less able children 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared
- well prepared to teach mixed ability groups 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared
- well prepared to teach children with special educational needs whom I would be likely to meet in ordinary schools 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared
- well prepared to teach children from different cultural backgrounds 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared
- well prepared to teach socially deprived children 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared
- well prepared to promote equal opportunities for boys and girls 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

FOR TEACHERS OF PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN ONLY

- well prepared to teach reading 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared
- well prepared to teach mathematics 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared
- well prepared to teach mixed age groups 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared
- well prepared to teach within an integrated programme/ interdisciplinary programme 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared
- well prepared to teach in an open plan school 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

•well prepared to teach the under 5 year olds 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

FOR TEACHERS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL CHILDREN ONLY

•well prepared to teach pupils for public examinations 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

•well prepared to respond to changes in the examination system 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

•well prepared to teach on pre-vocational courses 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

FOR ALL TEACHERS

•well prepared to perform administrative duties 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

•well prepared to undertake pastoral duties 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

•well prepared to liaise with parents and others in the community 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

•well prepared to use my teaching to help pupils to understand the economic system 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

•well prepared to use my teaching to help pupils to understand environmental education issues 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

•well prepared to use my teaching to help pupils to understand health education issues 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

•well prepared in the use of audio-visual equipment 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

•well prepared to use computers in their teaching 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

•well prepared to assess children across the National Curriculum Assessments 1 2 3 4 5 not prepared

ALL TEACHERS

8. This set of questions refers to the balance of training courses. Satisfactory amount/balance would be signified by circling number 3, much too much emphasis by circling number 1, much too little by circling number 5.

Too much emphasis on education studies 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on teaching method 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on studying academic/subjects 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on classroom observation 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on teaching practice 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on anti-racism 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on anti-sexism 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on social egalitarianism (anti-classism) 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on 'critical theory' (critiquing the relationship between teachers, schools and society) 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis/time on IT-INSET course (if you did one if not, please leave blank) 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on child development 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on special needs 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on information technology 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on linking school-based with college-based work 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on the superior importance of school-based work as contrasted with the importance of college-based work 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on seeing the teacher as a non-political classroom practitioner 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on critically questioning and evaluating current practice and developments in education 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on democratic participative pedagogy (teaching and learning methods) 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on seeing the teacher as a political activist 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on becoming a teacher who is (i)'a transformative intellectual' (transforming children's view of society) 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

Too much emphasis on the importance of theory 1 2 3 4 5 too little emphasis

9. If you wish, could you name in order the courses within your Teacher Education course you are most pleased to have followed.

If you wish, could you name in order the courses you are least pleased to have followed in your Teacher Education Course.

If you wish, could you list the best aspects of studying for your Teacher Education Course at your College/University/Institution of study.

If you wish, could you list the worst aspects of studying for your Teacher Education Course at your College/University/Institution.

The final two questions on the next two pages, do not relate to your own Initial Teacher Education (ITE) course. The next question relates to your expectations of ITE PRIOR TO STARTING YOUR COURSE. The final question is about your current opinions on Initial Teacher Education.

DHJW0559

10. This section is about your opinions before you started your teacher training/education course.

YOUR OPINION PRIOR TO STARTING YOUR COURSE ON WHAT YOUR COURSE SHOULD BE LIKE

Prior to starting the course, how much emphasis did you think there should be in your Initial Teacher Training/Education course on:

	Please circle your response				
	A High Emphasis				No Emphasis At All
	1	2	3	4	5
1. Teaching Practice	1	2	3	4	5
2. Classroom Observation	1	2	3	4	5
3. Delivering the National Curriculum Subjects	1	2	3	4	5
4. Teaching Methods	1	2	3	4	5
5. Education Studies	1	2	3	4	5
6. Anti-Racism	1	2	3	4	5
7. Anti-Sexism	1	2	3	4	5
8. Social Egalitarianism	1	2	3	4	5
9. Child Development	1	2	3	4	5
10. Teaching Children with Special Needs Likely to be Met in Mainstream Schools	1	2	3	4	5
11. Linking School Based and College Based Work	1	2	3	4	5
12. Critically Questioning and Evaluating Current Practice and Developments in Education	1	2	3	4	5
13. Using Democratic Teaching and Learning Methods	1	2	3	4	5
14. Becoming a Teacher Who Is A Transformative Intellectual (Transforming Children's View of Society in Favour of Social Justice	1	2	3	4	5
16. Using Formal Teaching Methods as Opposed to Informal.	1	2	3	4	5

DHJW0601
25.1.95

11. This section does not ask you to evaluate your own actual teacher training/education course, it asks for your ideas of what a teacher training/education course should be like.

YOUR OPINION NOW OF WHAT AN IDEAL COURSE OF TEACHER EDUCATION SHOULD BE LIKE

In your ideal course of Initial Teacher Education/Training, how much emphasis do you think there should be on;

	Please circle your response				
	A High Emphasis 1	2	3	4	No Emphasis At All 5
1. Teaching Practice	1	2	3	4	5
2. Classroom Observation	1	2	3	4	5
3. Delivering the National Curriculum Subjects	1	2	3	4	5
4. Teaching Methods	1	2	3	4	5
5. Education Studies	1	2	3	4	5
6. Anti-Racism	1	2	3	4	5
7. Anti-Sexism	1	2	3	4	5
8. Social Egalitarianism	1	2	3	4	5
9. Child Development	1	2	3	4	5
10. Teaching Children with Special Needs Likely to be Met in Mainstream Schools	1	2	3	4	5
11. Linking School Based and College Based Work	1	2	3	4	5
12. Critically Questioning and Evaluating Current Practice and Developments in Education	1	2	3	4	5
13. Using Democratic Teaching and Learning Methods	1	2	3	4	5
14. Becoming a Teacher Who Is 'A Transformative Intellectual' (Transforming Children's View of Society in Favour of Social Justice)	1	2	3	4	5
16. Using Formal Teaching Methods as Opposed to Informal Teaching Methods	1	2	3	4	5

DHJW0601

Appendix 2(b)

TEACHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING COURSE
EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE (1999)

Teacher Education and Training Course Evaluation Questionnaire

Pro-Forma

Dave Hill

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Teacher Education and Training Course Evaluation Questionnaire

Anonymous, Written, Closed Ended Evaluation

Please tick the appropriate boxes

1. Course taken:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Two year B Ed/BA (QTS) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Three year B Ed/BA (QTS) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Four year B Ed/BA (QTS) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| One year PGCE | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Two year PGCE | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Articled teacher | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Licensed teacher | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| SCITT | <input type="checkbox"/> |

2. Age Range:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Primary First/Infants/Lower Primary | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Primary Middle/Junior/Upper Primary | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Secondary | <input type="checkbox"/> |

3. Name of Institution/College/University

.....

4. Age on entry to the Teacher Training/Education Course

- 5. Had you worked or been out of full time education for three years or more before studying for your degree or PGCE? ie are you a 'mature student'.**
- | | |
|-----|--------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- 6. How satisfied are you with the teacher education/training you have received?**
- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Well satisfied | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Reasonably well satisfied | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Moderately satisfied | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Less than satisfied | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Dissatisfied | <input type="checkbox"/> |

ALL STUDENT TEACHERS

7. Please could you rate on a Scale 1 to 5 the following aspects of your course in Teacher Education by circling the appropriate number.

Please circle your response

- 7.1 I consider I was:
- 7.2 Given a good understanding of how to plan a programme of work over a period of time 1 2 3 4 5 Given no understanding
- 7.3 Well prepared for classroom management 1 2 3 4 5 Not prepared
- 7.4 Well prepared to teach my own specialism 1 2 3 4 5 Not prepared
- 7.5 Given a good understanding of the place of my subject in the whole curriculum 1 2 3 4 5 Given no understanding
- 7.6 Given a good understanding of the importance of language in learning 1 2 3 4 5 Given no understanding
- 7.7 Well prepared to assess my pupils' work 1 2 3 4 5 Not prepared
- 7.8 Well prepared to assess the effectiveness of my own teaching 1 2 3 4 5 Not prepared
- 7.9 Well prepared to teach in a team situation 1 2 3 4 5 Not prepared
- 7.10 Well prepared to teach more able children 1 2 3 4 5 Not prepared
- 7.11 Well prepared to teach less able children 1 2 3 4 5 Not prepared
- 7.12 Well prepared to teach mixed ability groups 1 2 3 4 5 Not prepared
- 7.13 Well prepared to teach children with special educational needs whom I would be likely to meet in ordinary schools 1 2 3 4 5 Not prepared
- 7.14 Well prepared to teach children from different cultural backgrounds 1 2 3 4 5 Not prepared
- 7.15 Well prepared to teach socially deprived children 1 2 3 4 5 Not prepared
- 7.16 Well prepared to promote equal opportunities for boys and girls 1 2 3 4 5 Not prepared

FOR STUDENT TEACHERS OF PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN ONLY

- 7.17 Well prepared to teach reading 1 2 3 4 5 Not prepared
- 7.18 Well prepared to teach mathematics 1 2 3 4 5 Not prepared

7.19	Well prepared to teach mixed age groups	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared
7.20	Well prepared to teach within an integrated programme/interdisciplinary programme	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared
7.21	Well prepared to teach in an open plan school	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared
7.22	Well prepared to teach the under 5 year olds	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared

FOR STUDENT TEACHERS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL CHILDREN ONLY

7.23	Well prepared to teach pupils for public examinations	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared
7.24	Well prepared to respond to changes in the examination system	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared
7.25	Well prepared to teach on pre-vocational courses	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared

FOR ALL TEACHERS

7.26	Well prepared to perform administrative duties	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared
7.27	Well prepared to undertake pastoral duties	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared
7.28	Well prepared to liaise with parents and others in the community	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared
7.29	Well prepared to use my teaching to help pupils to understand the economic system	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared
7.30	Well prepared to use my teaching to help pupils to understand environmental education issues	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared
7.31	Well prepared to use my teaching to help pupils to understand health education issues	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared
7.32	Well prepared in the use of audio-visual equipment	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared
7.33	Well prepared to use computers in their teaching	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared
7.34	Well prepared to assess children across the National Curriculum Assessments	1	2	3	4	5	Not prepared

ALL TEACHERS

8. This set of questions refers to the *balance* of training courses. Satisfactory amount/balance would be signified by circling number 3, much too much emphasis by circling number 1, much too little by circling number 5.

8.1	Too much emphasis on education studies	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.2	Too much emphasis on teaching method	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.3	Too much emphasis on studying academic subjects	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.4	Too much emphasis on classroom observation	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.5	Too much emphasis on teaching practice	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.6	Too much emphasis on anti-racism	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.7	Too much emphasis on anti-sexism	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.8	Too much emphasis on social egalitarianism (anti-classism)	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.9	Too much emphasis on 'critical theory' (critiquing the relationship between teachers, schools and society)	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.10	Too much emphasis/time on IT-INSET course (if you did one – leave blank if you did not)	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.11	Too much emphasis on child development	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.12	Too much emphasis on special needs	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.12	Too much emphasis on information technology	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.14	Too much emphasis on linking school-based with college-based work	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.15	Too much emphasis on the superior importance of school-based work as contrasted with the importance of college-based work	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.16	Too much emphasis on seeing the teacher as a non-political classroom practitioner	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.17	Too much emphasis on critically questioning and evaluating current practice and developments in education	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.18	Too much emphasis on democratic participative pedagogy (teaching and learning methods)	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis
8.19	Too much emphasis on seeing the	1	2	3	4	5	Too little emphasis

teacher as a political activist

- | | | | |
|------|--|-------------------|---------------------|
| 8.20 | Too much emphasis on becoming a teacher who is 'a transformative intellectual' (transforming children's view of society) | 1 2 3 4 5 | Too little emphasis |
| 8.21 | Too much emphasis on the importance of theory | 1 2 3 4 5 | Too little emphasis |

9. Other comments about your course

If you wish, could you name in order the courses within your Teacher Education course you are **most** pleased to have followed.

If you wish, could you name in order the courses you are **least** pleased to have followed in your Teacher Education course.

If you wish, could you list the best aspects of studying for your Teacher Education course at your college/university/institution of study.

If you wish could you list the worst aspects of studying for your Teacher Education course at your college/university/institution.

The questions on the next two pages do NOT relate to your own Initial Teacher Education (ITE) course. Question 10. relates to your expectations of ITE PRIOR TO STARTING YOUR COURSE. Question 11. seeks your current opinions on Initial Teacher Education.

- 10. This section is about your opinions *before you started* your teacher training/education course.**

YOUR OPINION *PRIOR TO STARTING YOUR COURSE* ON WHAT YOUR TEACHER EDUCATION COURSE SHOULD BE LIKE

Prior to starting the course, how much emphasis did you think there should be in your Initial Teacher Training/Education course on:

Please circle your response

		A high emphasis			No emphasis at all	
		1	2	3	4	5
10.1	Teaching Practice	1	2	3	4	5
10.2	Classroom Observation	1	2	3	4	5
10.3	Delivering the National Curriculum Subjects	1	2	3	4	5
10.4	Teaching Methods	1	2	3	4	5
10.5	Education Studies	1	2	3	4	5
10.6	Anti-Racism	1	2	3	4	5
10.7	Anti-Sexism	1	2	3	4	5
10.8	Social Egalitarianism	1	2	3	4	5
10.9	Child Development	1	2	3	4	5
10.10	Teaching children with special needs likely to be met in mainstream schools	1	2	3	4	5
10.11	Linking school based and college based work	1	2	3	4	5
10.12	Critically questioning and evaluating current practice and developments in education	1	2	3	4	5
10.13	Using democratic teaching and learning methods	1	2	3	4	5
10.14	Becoming a teacher who is a transformative intellectual (transforming children's view of society in favour of social justice)	1	2	3	4	5
10.15	Using formal teaching methods as opposed to informal teaching methods	1	2	3	4	5

11. This section does not ask you to evaluate your own actual teaching training/education course, it asks for *your ideas* of what a teacher training/education course *should be like*.

YOUR OPINION *NOW* OF WHAT AN IDEAL COURSE OF TEACHER EDUCATION SHOULD BE LIKE

In your ideal course of Initial Teacher Education/Training, how much emphasis do you think there should be on:

Please circle your response

		A high emphasis			No emphasis at all	
		1	2	3	4	5
11.1	Teaching Practice	1	2	3	4	5
11.2	Classroom Observation	1	2	3	4	5
11.3	Delivering the National Curriculum Subjects	1	2	3	4	5
11.4	Teaching Methods	1	2	3	4	5
11.5	Education Studies	1	2	3	4	5
11.6	Anti-Racism	1	2	3	4	5
11.7	Anti-Sexism	1	2	3	4	5
11.8	Social Egalitarianism	1	2	3	4	5
11.9	Child Development	1	2	3	4	5
11.10	Teaching children with special needs likely to be met in mainstream schools	1	2	3	4	5
11.11	Linking school based and college based work	1	2	3	4	5
11.12	Critically questioning and evaluating current practice and developments in education	1	2	3	4	5
11.13	Using democratic teaching and learning methods	1	2	3	4	5
11.14	Becoming a teacher who is a transformative intellectual (transforming children's view of society in favour of social justice)	1	2	3	4	5
11.15	Using formal teaching methods as opposed to informal teaching methods	1	2	3	4	5

The final three questions return to our own Initial Teacher Education course. Please could you rate your B Ed/BA (QTS) course along the following dimensions set out in questions 12, 13 and 14.

FOR PRIMARY STUDENT TEACHERS ONLY

12. Specific Curriculum Areas/Subjects

Please could you rate these on a scale of 1 to 5. 1 denotes 'very good', 2 denotes 'good', 3 denotes 'acceptable', 4 denotes 'not very good' and 5 denotes 'poor'.

How well do you think you have been prepared for teaching the following:

		Very well prepared			Poorly prepared	
		1	2	3	4	5
12.1	Reading					
12.2	Writing					
12.3	Oracy					
12.4	Mathematics					
12.5	Science					
12.6	Technology					
12.7	Geography					
12.8	History					
12.9	Art					
12.10	Music					
12.11	PE					
12.12	RE					

ALL STUDENT TEACHERS

13. Cross-Curricular Aspects

How well do you think you have been prepared for teaching the following:

Please could you rate these on a scale of 1 to 5. 1 denotes 'very good', 2 denotes 'good', 3 denotes 'acceptable', 4 denotes 'not very good' and 5 denotes 'poor'.

		Very well prepared			Poorly prepared	
		1	2	3	4	5
13.1	The Cross Curricular Theme of Citizenship					
13.2	The cross Curricular Theme of Health Education					
13.3	The Cross Curricular Theme of Careers Education and Guidance					
13.4	The Cross Curricular Theme of Environmental Education					
13.5	The Cross Curricular Theme of Economic and Industrial understanding					

13.6	Cross Curricular Dimension aspect of Gender Equal Opportunities	1	2	3	4	5
13.7	Cross Curricular Dimension aspect of Multi-cultural Education	1	2	3	4	5

14. School Experience/Teaching Practice

Please could you rate these on a scale of 1 to 5. 1 denotes 'very good', 2 denotes 'good', 3 denotes 'acceptable', 4 denotes 'not very good' and 5 denotes 'poor'.

On your school experience overall, how satisfied were you with the following? Did you have:

		Very well satisfied			Very dissatisfied	
		1	2	3	4	5
14.1	Sufficient time spent in schools	1	2	3	4	5
14.2	An adequate variety of schools	1	2	3	4	5
14.3	A good opportunity to observe and the different teaching methods	1	2	3	4	5
14.4	A good opportunity to observe high quality teaching	1	2	3	4	5
14.5	Good quality supervisory tutors	1	2	3	4	5
14.6	Good quality support by schools	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you very much for your help

Appendix 3

**COMPLETE SET OF ANALYTICAL DATA FOR
THE *NEW TEACHER IN SCHOOL* TYPE
QUESTIONNAIRE**

Appendix 3 (a)

Responses to the *New Teacher in School* type

Questionnaire: 1159 NQTs

(see separate file, attached)

Appendix 3(a) i

Responses of NQTs in Percentages

(see separate file, attached)

Appendix 3(a)ii

Responses of NQTs in Raw Numbers

(see separate file, attached)

Appendix 3(b)

New Teacher in School type Questionnaire:

497 Student Teachers

(see separate file, attached)

Appendix 3(b) i

Responses of Student Teachers in Percentages

(see separate file, attached)

Appendix 3 (b) ii

Responses of Student Teachers in Raw Numbers

(see separate file, attached)

Appendix Table 4: Primary Undergraduate 'trained' NOT course evaluation: satisfaction with preparation for various aspects of teaching

KEY

Returns from ITE courses validated prior to Circular 14/93

1994 CR denotes returns from 1994 Crawley Primary BEd leavers (in bold)
n=16

1995 CR denotes returns from 1995 Crawley Primary BEd leavers (in bold)
n=10

1993 WS denotes returns from 1993 WSIHE Primary BEd leavers (in italics)
n=24

1994 WS denotes returns from 1994 WSIHE Primary BEd leavers (in italics)
n=44

1995 CH denotes returns from 1995 ChIHE Primary BEd leavers (in italics)
n=44

ALL89/95 denotes all Primary BEd/BA (QTS) returns 1989-95 (in standard type face)
n=479

(i.e. all Primary undergrad. NQTs whose courses were validated prior to Circular 14/93)

Rating on a scale of 1 to 5 the following aspects of the 4-year BEd course.

	1	2	3	4	5		
Q7I/ 7.13 well prepared to teach children with special needs likely to be met in ordinary schools	0% 0% 4% 2% 9% 6%	25% 10% 30% 30% 18% 26%	19% 20% 48% 40% 48% 34%	38% 30% 17% 23% 9% 21%	19% 40% 0% 5% 16% 13%	not pre- pared	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95
Q7m/ 7.14 well prepared to teach children from different cultural backgrounds	31% 0% 4% 12% 11% 13%	56% 30% 30% 40% 27% 30%	6% 50% 43% 23% 34% 32%	6% 20% 9% 19% 18% 18%	0% 0% 13% 7% 9% 7%	not pre- pared	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95

Q7n/7.15 well prepared to teach socially deprived children	25% 0% 4% 9% 9% 8%	38% 30% 43% 30% 27% 29%	31% 50% 35% 30% 25% 34%	6% 20% 17% 23% 27% 20%	0% 0% 0% 7% 11% 9%	not prepare d	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95
Q7o/ 7.16 well prepared to promote equal opportunities for girls and boys	44% 30% 22% 28% 18% 25%	50% 60% 61% 49% 52% 51%	6% 10% 13% 14% 23% 20%	0% 0% 0% 5% 2% 3%	0% 0% 4% 5% 5% 1%	not prepare d	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95
Q7a/ 7.2 given a good understanding of how to plan a programme of work over a period of time	0% 10% 9% 25% 20% 19%	19% 20% 57% 36% 34% 39%	50% 20% 17% 30% 25% 25%	25% 40% 17% 7% 14% 14%	6% 10% 0% 2% 7% 2%	given no understan ding	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95
Q7b/ 7.3 well prepared for classroom management	6% 0% 9% 16% 18% 12%	38% 30% 43% 39% 34% 39%	38% 60% 30% 39% 30% 29%	13% 10% 13% 2% 11% 15%	6% 0% 4% 5% 7% 5%	not prepare d	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89-95
Q7c/ 7.4 well prepared to teach own subject specialisation	13% 0% 17% 16% 18% 15%	50% 40% 33% 36% 55% 31%	25% 40% 25% 30% 11% 25%	13% 10% 17% 16% 11% 17%	0% 10% 8% 2% 5% 12%	not prepare d	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95
Q7p/ 7.17 well prepared to teach reading	13% 0% 0% 14% 9% 11%	13% 10% 43% 26% 34% 22%	25% 40% 13% 30% 25% 27%	31% 20% 35% 12% 25% 24%	19% 30% 9% 19% 7% 16%	not pre- pared	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95 All2000(3) All2000(4)

Q7q/7.18 well prepared to teach mathematics	13%	56%	19%	6%	6%	not prepare d	1994 CR
	0%	10%	50%	30%	10%		1995 CR
	13%	48%	30%	0%	9%		1993 WS
	14%	40%	33%	9%	5%		1994 WS
	7%	32%	23%	25%	13%		1995 CH
	12%	38%	29%	14%	7%		All89-95

**Appendix Table 5: Primary Undergraduate 'Trained' NQT
Course Evaluation: satisfaction with the emphasis on various
course aspects.**

Questions relating to the balance of the BEd course, were a satisfactory amount balance in signified by number 3, much too much emphasis by number 1, much too little by number 5.

Hence, in the following tales ranking number 3 indicates a satisfactory or correct amount of coverage and emphasis.

	1	2	3	4	5		
Q8a/8.1 Too much emphasis on education studies	0% 10% 4% 2% 5% 3%	25% 10% 8% 18% 14% 18%	56% 50% 67% 73% 75% 65%	13% 30% 17% 7% 7% 20%	6% 0% 4% 0% 0% 2%	too little emph- asis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95
Q8e/ 8.5 Too much emphasis on teaching practice	0% 10% 0% 0% 0% 1%	0% 0% 0% 0% 0% 3%	75% 50% 54% 36% 52% 52%	19% 30% 29% 45% 34% 29%	6% 10% 17% 18% 14% 15%	too little empha sis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95
Q8f/ 8.6 Too much emphasis on anti-racism	0% 30% 4% 0% 7% 7%	38% 30% 21% 20% 9% 20%	63% 40% 75% 73% 68% 62%	0% 0% 0% 2% 14% 8%	0% 0% 0% 5% 2% 3%	too little empha sis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95
Q8g/ 8.7 Too much emphasis on anti-sexism	0% 30% 4% 0% 11% 8%	38% 20% 17% 20% 9% 20%	63% 50% 79% 75% 64% 62%	0% 0% 0% 2% 14% 8%	0% 0% 0% 2% 2% 2%	too little empha sis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95

Q8h/ 8.8 Too much emphasis on social egalitarianism (anti- classism)	13% 20% 4% 0% 11% 5%	44% 40% 13% 20% 0% 18%	44% 30% 75% 66% 82% 61%	0% 10% 8% 9% 5% 10%	0% 0% 0% 5% 2% 5%	too little empha sis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95
Q8k/ 8.11 Too much emphasis on child development	0% 0% 0% 5% 2% 0%	0% 0% 0% 7% 9% 4%	60% 30% 35% 32% 48% 56%	33% 50% 43% 45% 25% 25%	7% 20% 22% 11% 16% 5%	too little empha sis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95
Q8i/ 8.9 Too much emphasis on critically questioning and evaluating current practice and developments in education	13% 20% 4% 5% 11% 7%	44% 50% 26% 41% 14% 25%	38% 20% 52% 39% 57% 52%	6% 10% 17% 11% 18% 14%	0% 0% 0% 5% 0% 3%	too little empha sis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95
Q8r/ 8.18 Too much emphasis on democratic participative pedagogy (teaching and learning methods)	0% 0% 0% 2% 0% 2%	6% 30% 13% 18% 12% 11%	56% 40% 48% 45% 53% 55%	38% 20% 26% 25% 28% 26%	0% 10% 13% 9% 7% 6%	too little empha sis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95
Q8u/ 8.21 Too much emphasis on the importance of theory	13% 20% 4% 7% 7% 8%	31% 40% 30% 23% 20% 28%	56% 40% 57% 61% 57% 55%	0% 0% 9% 9% 16% 8%	0% 0% 0% 0% 0% 1%	too little empha sis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1993 WS 1994 WS 1995 CH All89/95

***Appendix Table 6: Primary Undergraduate Student Teacher
Final Year course evaluation: satisfaction with various aspects
of preparation for teaching***

KEY

Returns from ITE courses validated prior to Circular 14/93

1994 CR denotes 4th Year Crawley BEd student returns in Spring 1994 (4 year course) (in bold) n=19
 1995 CR denotes 4th Year Crawley BEd students' returns in Spring 1995 (4 year course) (in bold) n=26
 1996 CR denotes 4th Year Crawley BEd students' returns in Spring 1996 (4 year course) (in bold) n=23
 1994 WS denotes 4th Year WSIHE BEd students' returns in Spring 1994 (4 year course) (in italics) n=21
 1995 WS denotes 4th Year WSIHE BEd students' returns in Spring 1995 (4 year course) (in italics) n=84
 1996 CH denotes 4th Year ChIHE BEd students' returns in Spring 1996 (4 year course) (in italics) n=104
 ALL94-96 denotes all the above BEd /BA (QTS) student teacher returns 1994-6 (4 year courses) n=423

Rating on a scale of 1 to 5 the following aspects of the BEd course.

	1	2	3	4	5		
Q7V/ 7.13 well prepared to teach children with special needs likely to be met in ordinary schools	0% 0% 0% <i>11%</i> <i>4%</i> <i>4%</i> <i>4%</i>	11% 4% 30% <i>33%</i> <i>19%</i> <i>23%</i> <i>23%</i>	21% 40% 9% <i>28%</i> <i>35%</i> <i>46%</i> <i>35%</i>	58% 32% 35% <i>22%</i> <i>34%</i> <i>22%</i> <i>29%</i>	11% 24% 26% <i>6%</i> <i>8%</i> <i>5%</i> <i>8%</i>	not pre- pared	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94- 96
Q7m/ 7.14 well prepared to teach children from different cultural backgrounds	5% 12% 4% <i>11%</i> <i>0%</i> <i>1%</i> <i>5%</i>	42% 28% 35% <i>22%</i> <i>20%</i> <i>9%</i> <i>20%</i>	37% 36% 30% <i>28%</i> <i>39%</i> <i>31%</i> <i>33%</i>	16% 20% 22% <i>33%</i> <i>38%</i> <i>38%</i> <i>32%</i>	0% 4% 9% <i>6%</i> <i>2%</i> <i>21%</i> <i>10%</i>	not pre- pared	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94- 96

Q7n/7.15 well prepared to teach socially deprived children	5% 4% 4% 11% 2% 6% 6%	37% 36% 22% 22% 12% 24% 23%	26% 32% 52% 38% 50% 31% 37%	21% 28% 9% 39% 29% 29% 25%	11% 0% 13% 0% 7% 10% 9%	not pre- pared	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94- 96
Q7o/ 7.16 well prepared to promote equal opportunities for girls and boys	42% 20% 43% 33% 6% 22% 24%	47% 60% 52% 33% 54% 33% 43%	5% 20% 4% 17% 37% 31% 26%	5% 0% 0% 17% 4% 11% 6%	0% 0% 0% 0% 0% 2% 1%	not pre- pared	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94- 96
Q7a/ 7.2 given a good understanding of how to plan a programme of work over a period of time	12% 0% 17% 19% 6% 17% 13%	35% 23% 48% 33% 40% 52% 45%	35% 16% 26% 38% 34% 24% 28%	6% 31% 9% 10% 18% 3% 12%	12% 31% 0% 0% 2% 3% 4%	given no under- stand- ing	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94- 96
Q7b/ 7.3 well prepared for classroom management	6% 0% 9% 14% 1% 9% 7%	35% 12% 43% 38% 46% 44% 41%	29% 38% 35% 29% 33% 32% 30%	29% 35% 13% 19% 18% 11% 18%	0% 15% 0% 0% 2% 5% 3%	not pre- pared	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94- 96
Q7c/ 7.4 well prepared to teach own subject specialisation	12% 0% 22% 19% 16% 27% 17%	41% 27% 30% 38% 22% 46% 35%	35% 42% 22% 29% 35% 20% 31%	12% 27% 22% 10% 19% 5% 12%	0% 4% 4% 5% 8% 2% 4%	not pre- pared	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94- 96

Q7p/ 7.17 well prepared to teach reading	5% 4% 9% <i>11%</i> <i>5%</i> <i>20%</i> <i>13%</i>	32% 16% 57% <i>17%</i> <i>38%</i> <i>45%</i> <i>39%</i>	47% 40% 13% <i>39%</i> <i>38%</i> <i>25%</i> <i>31%</i>	16% 20% 9% <i>22%</i> <i>13%</i> <i>9%</i> <i>11%</i>	0% 20% 13% <i>11%</i> <i>6%</i> <i>1%</i> <i>6%</i>	not pre- pared	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94- 96
Q7q/7.18 well prepared to teach mathematics	21% 12% 4% <i>11%</i> <i>7%</i> <i>14%</i> <i>10%</i>	63% 32% 26% <i>61%</i> <i>29%</i> <i>29%</i> <i>36%</i>	16% 40% 52% <i>22%</i> <i>33%</i> <i>41%</i> <i>34%</i>	0% 16% 17% <i>6%</i> <i>17%</i> <i>14%</i> <i>15%</i>	0% 0% 0% <i>0%</i> <i>14%</i> <i>3%</i> <i>5%</i>	not pre- pared	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94- 96

Appendix Table 7: Primary Undergraduate 'trained' final year student teacher course evaluation: satisfaction with the emphasis on various course aspects.

Questions relating to the balance of the BEd course, were a satisfactory amount balance in signified by number 3, much too much emphasis by number 1, much too little by number 5.

Hence, in the following tables, *ranking number 3 indicates a satisfactory or correct amount of coverage and emphasis.*

	1	2	3	4	5		
Q8a/8.1 Too much emphasis on education studies	0% 0% 0% 5% 2% 0% 1%	6% 12% 0% 19% 20% 10% 10%	65% 69% 86% 67% 58% 80% 71%	29% 15% 14% 10% 14% 9% 16%	0% 4% 0% 0% 6% 2% 3%	too little emph- asis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94-96
Q8e/ 8.5 Too much emphasis on teaching practice	0% 0% 0% 5% 0% 2% 1%	0% 0% 0% 5% 1% 1% 2%	53% 54% 61% 29% 46% 54% 53%	37% 31% 35% 24% 27% 33% 30%	11% 15% 4% 38% 26% 11% 14%	too little emph- asis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94-96
Q8f/ 8.6 Too much emphasis on anti-racism	5% 8% 0% 5% 4% 0% 2%	37% 12% 4% 10% 13% 1% 8%	58% 65% 78% 52% 60% 42% 55%	0% 12% 17% 14% 17% 44% 23%	0% 4% 0% 19% 6% 13% 12%	too little emph- asis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94-96

Q8g/ 8.7 Too much emphasis on anti-sexism	5% 8% 0% 10% 2% 2% 3%	32% 12% 13% 10% 13% 1% 8%	63% 69% 61% 57% 67% 44% 57%	0% 8% 26% 19% 11% 40% 22%	0% 4% 0% 5% 6% 13% 11%	too little emph- asis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94- 96
Q8h/ 8.8 Too much emphasis on social egalitarianism (anti- classism)	5% 8% 0% 5% 5% 0% 3%	26% 15% 0% 10% 11% 4% 7%	68% 62% 65% 67% 59% 38% 52%	0% 4% 26% 19% 20% 41% 26%	0% 12% 9% 0% 5% 16% 13%	too little emph- asis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94- 96
Q8k/ 8.11 Too much emphasis on child development	0% 0% 0% 0% 1% 0% 0%	0% 0% 0% 17% 3% 1% 3%	32% 21% 38% 28% 33% 45% 49%	47% 46% 38% 33% 41% 41% 33%	21% 33% 24% 22% 22% 13% 15%	too little emph- asis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94- 96
Q8i/ 8.9 Too much emphasis on critically questioning and evaluating current practice and developments in education	0% 0% 0% 0% 0% 2% 1%	37% 23% 0% 17% 14% 9% 11%	63% 58% 87% 67% 70% 38% 52%	0% 15% 13% 11% 15% 36% 27%	0% 4% 0% 6% 1% 15% 10%	too little emph- asis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94- 96
Q8r/ 8.18 Too much emphasis on democratic participative pedagogy (teaching and learning methods)	0% 0% 0% 0% 0% 0% 0%	5% 0% 9% 12% 1% 3% 3%	74% 54% 83% 47% 49% 72% 62%	21% 23% 9% 35% 39% 21% 27%	0% 23% 0% 6% 11% 4% 8%	too little emph- asis	1994 CR 1995 CR 1996 CR 1994 WS 1995 WS 1996 CH ALL 94- 96

Q8u/ 8.21 Too much emphasis on the importance of theory	0%	11%	68%	16%	5%	too little emph- asis	1994 CR
	8%	23%	58%	12%	0%		1995 CR
	4%	22%	65%	9%	0%		1996 CR
	<i>0%</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>56%</i>	<i>11%</i>	<i>11%</i>		1994 WS
	<i>4%</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>46%</i>	<i>23%</i>	<i>5%</i>		1995 WS
	<i>2%</i>	<i>23%</i>	<i>56%</i>	<i>17%</i>	<i>1%</i>		1996 CH
	2%	19%	62%	15%	2%		ALL 94-96

Appendix Table 8: Attitude Change and Course Effect among Newly Qualified Teachers who graduated in 1994 (responses to questions 10 and 11 of the Questionnaire)

In your ideal course of Initial Education/ Training how much emphasis should there be on the following on a 1 to 5 scale.(1 = high emphasis, 5 = no emphasis at all)

	CRAWLEY PRIMARY BEd NQTs graduated in 1994			WSIHE PRIMARY BEd NQTs graduated in 1994		
	Before	After	Change +/-	Before	After	Change +/-
1. Teaching Practice	1.19	1.47	0.28	1.40	1.43	0.03
2. Classroom Observation	2.06	2.33	0.27	2.08	2.32	0.24
3. Delivering the National Curriculum Subjects	1.56	1.33	-0.23	1.46	1.47	0.01
4. Teaching Methods	1.69	1.33	-0.36	1.56	1.69	0.13
5. Education Studies	2.31	2.53	0.22	2.51	2.54	0.03
6. Anti-Racism	2.56	3.47	0.91	2.74	3.21	0.47
7. Anti-Sexism	2.56	3.27	0.71	2.75	3.24	0.49
8. Social Egalitarianism	2.69	3.73	1.04	2.93	3.31	0.38
9. Child Development	1.81	2.07	0.26	1.94	2.14	0.20
10. Teaching children with Special Needs	1.50	1.87	0.37	1.60	1.92	0.32
11. Linking School-Based and College-Based Work	2.38	2.27	-0.11	2.49	2.46	-0.03
12. Critically Questioning and Evaluating Current Practice and Developments in Education	2.13	3	0.87	2.67	2.81	0.14
13. Using Democratic Teaching and Learning Methods	2.31	2.93	0.62	2.54	2.72	0.18
14. Becoming a Teacher who is a 'Transformative Intellectual' (Transforming Children's View of Society in Favour of Social Justice)	2.81	3.27	0.46	3.13	3.40	0.27
15. Using Formal Methods as Opposed to Informal Teaching Methods.	3.31	3.2	-0.11	3.24	3.10	-0.14
Column 1	Col.2	Col.3	Col.4	Col.5	Col.6	Col.7

Appendix Table 9(a): Attitude change and course effect among final year BEd student teachers in 1995 (responses to questions 10 and 11 of the Questionnaire)

	CRAWLEY YEAR 4 PRIMARY Bed STUDENTS in 1995			ChIHE YEAR 4 PRIMARY Bed STUDENTS in 1995			SOUTHTOWN UNIVERSITY YEAR 4 PRIMARY Bed STUDENTS in 1995		
	Before	After	Chg. /-	Before	After	Change +/-	Before	After	Change +/-
1. Teaching Practice	1.14	1.37	0.23	1.27	1.40	0.13	1.32	1.52	0.20
2. Classroom Observation	1.86	2.21	0.35	1.64	1.90	0.26	1.58	1.74	0.16
3. Delivering the National Curriculum Subjects	1.57	1.53	-0.04	1.48	1.55	0.07	1.52	1.75	0.23
4. Teaching Methods	1.24	1.53	0.29	1.36	1.41	0.05	1.46	1.52	0.06
5. Education Studies	2.10	2.00	-0.10	2.16	2.11	-0.05	1.81	2.09	0.28
6. Anti-Racism	2.19	2.63	0.44	2.46	2.80	0.36	2.42	3.12	0.70
7. Anti-Sexism	2.24	2.63	0.39	2.43	2.85	0.42	2.40	3.05	2.65
8. Social Egalitarianism	2.10	2.74	0.64	2.55	2.91	0.36	2.55	3.13	0.58
9. Child Development	1.52	1.58	0.06	1.66	1.79	0.13	1.65	1.74	0.09
10. Teaching children with Special Needs	1.67	1.89	0.22	1.49	1.90	0.41	1.46	2.06	0.60
11. Linking School-Based and College-Based Work	2.14	2.53	0.39	2.28	2.56	0.28	1.81	2.08	0.27
12. Critically Questioning and Evaluating Current Practice and Developments in Education	2.14	2.58	0.44	2.16	2.39	0.23	2.08	2.49	0.41
Column 1	Col.2	Col.3	Col.4	Col.5	Col.6	Col.7	Col.8	Col.9	Col.10

13. Using Democratic Teaching and Learning Methods	2.10	2.37	0.27	2.54	2.61	0.07	2.14	2.52	0.38
14. Becoming a Teacher who is a 'Transformative Intellectual' (Transforming Children's View of Society in Favour of Social Justice)	2.38	3.11	0.73	2.92	3.05	0.13	2.80	3.19	0.39
15. Using Formal Methods as Opposed to Informal Teaching Methods.	2.86	3.47	0.61	3.20	3.15	-0.05	3.26	3.46	0.20
Column 1	Col.2	Col.3	Col.4	Col.5	Col.6	Col.7	Col.8	Col.9	Col.10

The mean scores of each cohort are shown in the 'before' and 'after' columns. A mean score of 1 indicates the very highest rating possible, a mean score of 5 indicates the lowest ranking possible. The change columns for each cohort. i.e. columns 4, 7 and 10, show for a minus score a higher rating of emphasis for that aspect, and for a plus score a lower rating of emphasis for that aspect.

Appendix Table 9(b): Attitude change and course effect among final year BEd student teachers in 1996 (responses to questions 10 and 11 of the Questionnaire)

	CRAWLEY YEAR 4 PRIMARY BEd STUDENTS in 1996			ChIHE YEAR 4 PRIMARY BEd STUDENTS in 1996		
	Before	After	Change +/-	Before	After	Change +/-
1. Teaching Practice	1.86	1.52	-0.34	1.36	1.22	-0.14
2. Classroom Observation	2.39	1.86	-0.53	2.20	1.78	-0.42
3. Delivering the National Curriculum Subjects	1.91	1.69	-0.22	1.57	2.38	+0.86
4. Teaching Methods	1.86	1.65	-0.21	1.51	1.38	-0.13
5. Education Studies	2.17	2.00	-0.17	2.04	1.97	-0.05
6. Anti-Racism	2.60	1.91	-0.69	2.75	2.31	-0.44
7. Anti-Sexism	2.56	1.82	-0.74	2.75	2.36	-0.39
8. Social Egalitarianism	2.72	1.95	-0.77	2.87	2.46	-0.41
9. Child Development	1.39	1.30	-0.09	1.70	1.61	-0.09
10. Teaching children with Special Needs	1.91	1.39	-0.52	1.86	1.48	-0.38
11. Linking School-Based and College-Based Work	2.65	2.17	-0.48	2.34	2.05	-0.29
12. Critically Questioning and Evaluating Current Practice and Developments in Education	2.34	1.65	-0.69	2.66	2.21	-0.45
13. Using Democratic Teaching and Learning Methods	2.47	1.91	-0.56	2.54	2.16	-0.38
Column 1	Col.2	Col.3	Col.4	Col.5	Col.6	Col.7

14. Becoming a Teacher who is a 'Transformative Intellectual' (Transforming Children's View of Society in Favour of Social Justice)	3.08	2.21	-0.87	3.07	2.64	-0.43
15. Using Formal Methods as Opposed to Informal Teaching Methods.	2.95	3.31	+0.36	3.04	2.75	-0.29
Column 1	Col.2	Col.3	Col.4	Col.5	Col.6	Col.7

The mean scores of each cohort are shown in the 'before' and 'after' columns. A mean score of 1 indicates the very highest rating possible, a mean score of 5 indicates the lowest ranking possible. The change columns for each cohort, i.e. columns 4 and 7, show for a minus score a higher rating of emphasis for that aspect, and for a plus score a lower rating of emphasis for that aspect.

Appendix Table 10(a): A comparison of entry and exit/ end of course characteristics of Crawley BEd NQTs and final year Student Teachers with those from the WSIHE/ ChiHE Main Site, 1994–1995.

	Emphasis of Crawley NQTs c.f.WSIHE/ ChiHE NQTs1994 leavers at:		Relative change atStart/ End of course	Emphasis of Crawley student teachers c.f. WSIHE/ ChiHE student teachers 1995 Yr4 at:		Relative change at Start/End of course
	Start	End		Start	End	
1. Teaching Practice	0.21 higher	0.04 lower	-0.25	0.13 higher	0.03 higher	-.10
2. Classroom Observation	0.02 higher	0.01 lower	-.03	0.22 lower	0.31 lower	-.09
3. Delivering the National Curriculum Subjects	0.10 lower	0.14 higher	+.24	0.09 lower	0.02 higher	+.11
4. Teaching Methods	0.13 lower	0.36 higher	+.39	0.12 higher	0.12 lower	-.24
5. Education Studies	0.20 higher	0.01 higher	-.19	0.06 higher	0.1 higher	-.05
6. Anti-Racism	0.18 higher	0.26 lower	-.08	0.27 higher	0.17 higher	-.10
7. Anti-Sexism	0.19 higher	0.03 lower	-.22	0.19 higher	0.22 higher	+.03
8. Social Egalitarianism	0.24 higher	0.42 lower	-.66	0.44 higher	0.17 higher	-.27
9. Child Development	0.10 higher	0.07 lower	-.17	0.12 higher	0.21 higher	+.09
10. Teaching children with Special Needs	0.10 higher	0.05 higher	-.05	0.18 higher	0.01 higher	+.19
11. Linking School-Based and College-Based Work	0.11 higher	0.19 higher	+.08	0.14 higher	0.03 higher	-.11
12. Critically Questioning and Evaluating Current Practice and Developments in Education	0.54 higher	0.19 lower	-.73	0.02 higher	0.19 lower	-.21
13. Using Democratic Teaching and Learning Methods	0.23 higher	0.21 lower	-.44	0.44 higher	0.24 higher	-.20
14. Becoming a Teacher who is a 'Transformative Intellectual' (Transforming Children's View of Society in Favour of Social Justice)	0.32 higher	0.13 higher	-.19	0.54 higher	0.06 lower	-.60
15. Using Formal Methods as Opposed to Informal Teaching Methods.	0.07 lower	0.10 lower	-.03	0.34 higher	0.32 lower	-.66
Column 1	Col. 2 i.e. comparing cols 2 and 5 of <i>Appendix Table 9(a)</i>	Col. 3 i.e. comparing cols 3 and 6 of <i>Appendix Table 9(a)</i>	Col. 4 i.e. comparing cols 2 and 3 of this Table	Col. 5 i.e. comparing cols 2 and 5 of <i>Appendix Table 9(a)</i>	Col. 6 i.e. comparing cols. in <i>Appendix Table 9(a)</i>	Col. 7 i.e. comparing cols 6 and 7 of this Table

Appendix Table 10(b): A comparison of entry and exit/ end of course characteristics of Crawley Student Teachers and Final year Student Teachers with those from the WSIHE/ ChiHE Main Site, 1996.

	Emphasis of Crawley student teachers cf. WSIHE/ ChiHE student teachers 1996 Yr 4, at:		Relative change
	Start of course	End of course	
1. Teaching Practice	0.50 lower	0.30 lower	-0.20
2. Classroom Observation	0.19 lower	0.08 lower	-0.11
3. Delivering the National Curriculum Subjects	0.34 lower	0.69 lower	+0.35
4. Teaching Methods	0.35 lower	0.27 lower	-0.08
5. Education Studies	0.13 lower	0.03 lower	-0.10
6. Anti-Racism	0.15 higher	0.40 higher	+0.25
7. Anti-Sexism	0.19 higher	0.54 higher	+0.35
8. Social Egalitarianism	0.15 higher	0.51 higher	+0.36
9. Child Development	0.13 higher	0.31 higher	=
10. Teaching children with Special Needs	0.05 lower	0.09 higher	+0.14
11. Linking School-Based and College-Based Work	0.31 lower	0.12 lower	-0.19
12. Critically Questioning and Evaluating Current Practice and Developments in Education	0.34 higher	0.56 higher	+0.22
13. Using Democratic Teaching and Learning Methods	0.17 higher	0.25 higher	+0.18
14. Becoming a Teacher who is a 'Transformative Intellectual' (Transforming Children's View of Society in Favour of Social Justice)	0.01 lower	0.43 higher	+0.44
15. Using Formal Methods as Opposed to Informal Teaching Methods.	0.09 higher	0.56 lower	-0.65
Column 1	Col .2 i.e. comparing cols 2 and 5 of <i>Appendix Table 9(b)</i>	Col. 3 i.e. comparing cols 3 and 6 of <i>Appendix Table 9(b)</i>	Col. 4 i.e. comparing cols 2 and 3 of this Table

Appendix 11

**WSIHE/ CHIHE SCHOOLS AND SOCIETY
COMPULSORY BEd UNIT**

pp 485–497

SCHOOLS AND SOCIETY 1988-89
AUTUMN TERM 1988
COURSE OUTLINE

Session 1

3 October

- 9.15 ~ 9.45 1) Student Registration
- 9.50 ~ 10.45 2) Review and debriefing of student vacation task. Concepts of educational equality, meritocracy, comprehensive and selective education, sex and gender, race and racism, education and schooling. Academic attainment and participation by class, race and sex. Racial discrimination in schools. In Seminar Groups.

11.00 -11.45 Seminar Group Discussion - Course Team - Tutorial Rooms

- 3) Seminar Group Discussion - What questions are raised by the vacation task reading concerning schools in society, the relationship between school and society? What types of evidence are used in education and social enquiries? How do we know about education?
- a) biographical / personal / subjective / retrospective knowledge
 - b) statistical
 - c) variance / dissonance between a and b
 - d) what is a fact?
 - e) what is a value?
 - f) what is subjective / objective?

N.B. Distribution to sub-groups of students within each seminar group of documents for next week's session.

11.50 - 12.30 Lecture

- 4) Introduction to Course - Aims and Objectives, handout of course design. Key concepts. Key questions. Handout of course bibliography. Setting of Course Essay.

a) follow-up to Summer Term 1988 Lecture on Politics and Education and the Education Reform Act.

b) what is the relationship between schools and society?

c) what are schools for?

d) what is the education system and how are schools organised?

e) who controls education and who controls schools?

f) how is control and influence exercised over education and over schools?

g) is the education system and are schools egalitarian?

h) should they be (more) egalitarian and can they be?

Session 2

10 October

9.15 - 10.30 1) Student sub-groups meet to discuss three documents distributed in Session 1.

a) The 1870 Education Act.

b) Payment by results

c) What was nineteenth century Elementary Education really about

11.00 - 12.00 2) Lecture plus video/film extracts - on schooling in the nineteenth century

Middle class/upper class education in nineteenth century private schools.

12.00 - 12.30 3) Student sub-groups report back to seminar group.

Session 3

17th October

9.15 - 10.15 Lecture

1) Theorising about schools and society: An Introduction to structural functionalism and marxism.

10.30 - 12.30 Seminar

- i) Task/discussion from theory lecture.
- ii) Analysis of data (both quantitative and qualitative) on social class and education.

Session 4

24th October

Student led seminars

9.15 - 10.45 1) Explanations of social class and patterns of attainment.

11.00 - 12.30 Lecture

- 2) Initiatives on social class and education. Egalitarian developments at National, LEA and social level. e.g. ILEA/Hargreaves Report on Secondary Schools, ('Improving Secondary Schools') and ILEA/Thomas Report on Primary Schools, (Improving Primary Schools)

Session 5

31st October

9.15 - 9.30 Video

9.30 - 10.45 Lecture with slides

Ways of understanding racial inequality in Britain - some factual data and different social theories.

11.00 - 11.30 Seminar

Clarifying the term 'racism' - personal - institutional - cultural - structural.

11.30 - 12.30 Role Play

Session 6

7th November

9.15 - 10.45 Lecture

1) Multi-cultural or anti-racist education?

11.00 - 11.30 Seminar

Practical steps in classrooms. (Based on preparation last week)

11.30 - 12.30 Lecture

Strategies for change. Brief lecture and questions and answers.

Session 7

14th November To what extent to girls miss out at school?

9.15 - 10.20 Lecture

Gender, school and society: What's the issue?

- 1) To what extent is there a problem in schools and society?
- 2) How far is gender equality achieved in social formations which espouse meritocracy?
i.e. evidence
 - research (contemporary)
 - research (historical / anthropological)
 - biographical (anecdotal, qualitative)
- 3) How are schools and teachers responding?

11.45 - 12.30 Seminars

Discussion of sexism - sex differentiation informed by:

- a) biographical task and
- b) lecture

Task set: Ways of combating sexism in schools and classrooms and on teaching practice.

Session 8

21st November

9.15 - 10.45 Seminar

Student presentations of ways of combating sexism. Co-operative compilation of best ideas/practices (for duplication and eventual circulation to other seminar groups).

11.00 - 11.40 Plenary session and inputs

11.40 - 12.30 Towards a theoretical understanding of inequalities of class and race: Major perspectives in social theory.

N.B. Distribution of brief readings on Progressive Education.

Session 9

28th November

9.15 - 10.00 Seminar/Task

The aims of education - Seminar discussion based on readings.

10.00 - 10.45 Mainstream education and alternative: Whatever happened to progressive education? - Presentation and their critics from Left and Right.

11.00 - 12.00 Panel - speakers from a variety of perspectives. Questions from the student body.

Educational alternatives:

Session 10

5th December

9.15 - 10.45 What can be learned from the rest of the world? An examination of other educational systems and their reasons for the British educational system. What are the key purposes of education in other selected societies? Input by Namibian and Guinean students. Video on Chinese and Russian and United States systems.

11.00 - 12.30 Option Choices.

Schools & Society - Options

Students will choose from a list of option courses for the five Spring Term weeks of the course.

These options will develop from an aspect of the course objectives and content of the first ten weeks and are an attempt at enabling students to pursue one aspect of the course in greater depth.

Simple options may well be 'Race' and Education, Gender and Education, School and Community, Comparative Education, Industry and Education, Social Class and Education, the 1988 Education Reform Act.

The various option groups will use a range of learning and

teaching methods and a range of assessment techniques. Most option courses involve visits to schools and/or guest school teacher led sessions (lecturers/seminar group discussions).

SCHOOLS AND SOCIETY 1988-1989

SUMMER TERM

COURSE OUTLINE

SESSION 1

- | | | | |
|---------|------|---|------------|
| 21.4.89 | i | Introduction to Course Unit: The changing Distribution of Power and Responsibilities in Education and its implications. | 10 mins |
| | ii | Teacher Education, Reflexive teaching, licencing, school based and school-focussed training. Current developments. | 30 mins |
| | iii | Plenary question and answer | |
| | iv | Quiz on the Education Reform Act. How much do students know? (Students to hand in answers) | 40 mins |
| | v | Option Course Evaluation | 10 mins |
| | vi | Brief Overview of the Education Reform Act - its educational, social, political and historical context. | 10-15 mins |
| | vii | Task explanation: Distribution of
a) DES 'From Policy to Practice (1989)
b) DES 'Education Reform: the Government Proposals. (1989)
c) Kenneth Baker on the E.R.A. in Politics Today (Conservative Party) (1988)
d) Brian Simon 'Lessons in elitism' (1987) | 5 mins |
| | viii | Student reading time with structured task/preparation for Session 2 Seminar | |

SESSION 2

- | | | | |
|---------|----|---|---------|
| 24.4.89 | i | The National Curriculum and Assessment Video and lecture. Video by the BBC/Industrial Society | 75 mins |
| | ii | Seminar Groups
Discussion structured round structure of video and around readings. | 75 mins |

SESSION 3

8.5.89.	i	Opting Out, Local Financial Management and Open Enrolment. Video/Lecture Over-all IRA redistribution of powers of Headteachers, Governors, Teachers, Parents, School students/pupils	45 mins
	ii	Seminar Group discussion on likely effects of opting out, open enrolment, and local financial management on the new teacher in school.	45 mins
	iii	Critical Overview/Analysis of the Education Reform Act	
		a) ideological:right, left and centre	15 mins
		b) LEAs: managerial, political, economic	15 mins
		c) teachers and educationalists on questions of: practicality, autonomy	15 mins
	iv	Plenary Discussion chaired by student Panel of Lecturers and teachers	30 mins
	v	Distribution of sample Year 3 B.Ed exam questions and task explanation for Session 4 Seminar	10 mins

SESSION 4

15.5.89	i	Course Evaluation and Conclusion	30/45 mins
	ii	Year 3 B.Ed. exam overview	30 mins
	iii	Seminars on Exam papers: students to have outlined answers to two questions	60 mins

SCHOOLS AND SOCIETY YEAR 3 B.ED. 1988-89

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This is a long bibliography covering: General Sociology book (SOC), books on Social Class and Education (CLAS) 'Race' and Education (GEN), Special Needs (SN), Power and Society (POW) and Radical Right Ideology (RADRT).

There are also a number of files on Temporary Reference on both BRC and DOC sites under the name of Dave Hill e.g. 'THE GRE/ EDUCATION REFORM BILL', 'THE RADICAL RIGHT AND EDUCATION', 'MARXISM, SOCIALISM AND EDUCATION', 'TESTING, ASSESSMENT AND THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM', 'OPTING OUT, FINANCIAL DEVOLUTION'.

Students should also look weekly at the TES (Times Educational Supplement) and also look at the many educational journals in the libraries.

DAVE HILL COURSE CO-ORDINATOR 1988-8			
GEN	ADAMS, C & LAURKITTIS, R.	The Gender Trap	Virago 1980
RAC	ALTARF	Challenging Racism	ALTARF 1984
SOC	BALL, S	The Sociology of Education	Longman 1986
SOC	CHAIRMAN, K	The Sociology of Schools	Tavistock 198
CSN	FISH, J	Special Education and the Way ahead	OUP 1985
RAC	GAINE, C	No Problem Here. A Practical Approach to Education and 'Race' in White Schools	Hutchinson 1987
POW	GIROUX, H	Theory and Resistance in Education	Heinemann 198
GEN	HANNON, V	Ending Sex Stereotyping in Schools (Revised ed.)	Equal Opps Commission 1981
POW	HAVILAND, J	Take Care Mr Baker	Fourth Estate 1988
CSN	HEGARTY & POCKLINGTON	Integration in Action	NFER/Nelson 1982
SOC	HARALAMBOS, M	Sociology, Themes and Perspectives (2nd ed.)	Tutorial Press University 1985
RAC	HESSARI, R & HILL, D	Practical Ideas for Multi- Cultural Learning and Teaching in the Primary Classroom	Routledge 1989
RADRT	HILLGATE GROUP	The Reform of British	Claridge

		Education	Press 1984
RADRT	HILLGATE GROUP	Whose Schools - A Radical Manifesto	Hillgate Group 1986
CSN	ILEA	Equal Opportunities for All (re CSN)	ILEA 1985
GEN	ILEA	Is Your School Changing (re Sexism)	ILEA 1986
GEN	ILEA	Implementing the ILEA's Anti-Sexist Policy	ILEA 1985
CLAS	ILEA	Improving Secondary Schools (The Hargreaves Report)	ILEA 1984
CLAS	ILEA	Improving Primary Schools (The Thomas Report)	ILEA 1985
SOC	ILEA	Race, Sex and Class:	ILEA 1983
CLAS	MORTIMORE, P & BLACKSTONE, T	Disadvantage and Education	Heinemann 1982
CSN	LLOYD-SMITH	Disruptive Schooling	Murray 1985
	NASH, R	Teacher Expectations and Pupil Learning	RKR 1976
RADRT	O'KEEFE, D	The Wayward Curriculum	The Social Affairs Unit 1987
CLAS	ROGERS, R	Social Class and Education	Falmer Press 1986
	RUTTER, M et al	Fifteen Thousand Hours	Open Books 1979
RAC	RUNNYMEDE	Education For All: Summary of the Swann Report	Runnymede Trust 1985
RAC	RUNNYMEDE	Different Worlds (2nd ed)	Runnymede Trust 1987
POW	SARUP, M	Marxism and Education	RKP 1978
RADRT	SENTON, S	Our Schools - A Radical Policy	Inst. for Economic Affairs 1988
POW	SIMON, B	The Great Schooling Scandal	Lawrence and Wishart 1988
GEN	SPENDER, D	Invisible Women: The Schooling Scandal	Writers and Readers 1982
GEN	STANWORTH, M	Gender and Schooling	Hutchinson 1982

RAC	STRAKER-WELDS, M	Education for a Multi-Cultural Society	Heinemann 1982
GEN	THOMPSON, J	All Right for Some - The Problem of Sexism	Hutchinson 1986
RAC	TWITCHIN, J & DEMUTH, C	Multi Cultural Education	BBC 1985
CLAS	WILLIS, P	Learning to Labour - How Working Class Kids get Working Class Jobs	Saxon House 1981
POW	WRAGG, T	Education in the Market Place	NUT 1988

VACATION TASK

The 4 General Sociology of Education books are the most useful starting points for the Vacation Task.

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

FOR SUMMER TERM 1989

BAKER, K	The Education Reform Act in Politics Today	Conservative Party 1988
DES (1989)	'Draft Circular: The Education (Teachers) Regulations 1989'	IMSO 1988
DES	Education Reform: The Governments Proposals	IMSO 1988
DES	From Policy to Practice	IMSO 1989
POW	HILL, D	Charge of the Right Brigade: The Radical Right's Attack on Teacher Education Hillcole Group/ Institute for Education Policy Studies 1989
RADRT	ILLIGATE GROUP	Learning to Teach The Claridge Press 1988
RADRT	O'HEAR, A	Who Teaches the Teachers? Social Affairs Unit 1989
POW	SIMON	Lessons In Elitism Marxism Today Sept.

POW TEACHERS'
WEEKLY

Left responds to radicals
right's reforms (summary
of 'Charge of the Right
Brigade' above.

Teacher's
Weekly
Sept. 1988

APPENDIX ONE

Year 3 B.Ed. 'Schools and Society' course for 1988-89 for all Primary and Secondary students. (60 hours.)

Term 1 Year 3 10 weeks x 3 hours per week

Term 2 Year 3 5 weeks x 3 hours per week choice of options.

Term 3 Year 3 4 weeks x 3 hours per week.

Course Co-ordinator: Dave Hill (plus team of seven other tutors).

Overall Course Objectives

To enable the student to:-

- 1 Examine the relationship between aspects of schooling and society.
- 2 Appreciate the main features of the structure of schooling in society in a historical contemporary and comparative sense.
- 3 Become acquainted with approaches which will help analysis and understanding schools in action.
- 4 Appreciate how Schooling is subject to development and renewal.

~~APPENDIX~~ TWO

Three units of the four unit course 'Contexts for Learning
the Brighton Polytechnic B.Ed. (Later (Primary) Years.)

1. Term 1 Year 1 (taught in 1987 - 1988)
2. Term 2 Year 1 (taught in 1988 - 1989)
3. Term 2 Year 2 (taught in 1989)

Course Tutor: Mike Cole.

Appendix 12

**SOCIAL CLASS, 'RACE' AND GENDER IN
EDUCATION**

**A Year 3 Module at University College, Northampton,
and an example of a potentially Radical Left course for
final-year non-'teacher training' undergraduates (half
of whom will proceed to a PGCE course).**

University College Northampton

Education Studies 2001-2002

Year3: Social Class, 'Race' and Gender in Education

EDU3016

Dave Hill

Module Code	Level	Credit Value	Leader
<i>EDU3010</i>	<i>Level 3</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>Dave Hill</i>

Context/Rationale:

This module addresses issues of social class, 'race', and gender in education and the widespread concerns about differential patterns of educational achievement and expectations of pupils and students from within different communities, schooling and educational systems and the wider social system. Issues of Equal Opportunities, Equality and Inequality have been and are among the dominant education issues in Britain and elsewhere. This is true in terms of both theoretical analysis and public policy implementation and evaluation. This module enables students to become aware of, understand and evaluate different theoretical analyses and policies with respect to these various inequalities.

Learning outcomes

On successful completion of the module the learner will be able to:

Knowledge and Understanding:

- Understand and apply key concepts with respect to social class, 'race' and ethnicity, and gender.
- Critically analyse recent developments in education and in society and the economy with respect to social class, 'race' and gender.
- Understand the major theories underpinning debates in relation to social class, gender and 'race'.

Subject-specific skills:

- develop a critical appreciation of the relationships between social class, 'race' and gender.
- identify and evaluate the connections between a range of theoretical explanations and developments in education with respect to social class, 'race' and gender.
- develop and justify own well-considered evaluative judgements.

Key Skills:

- f) engage in critical analysis of a wide range of texts.
- g) present complex arguments, logically and clearly in appropriate formats.
- h) lead, stimulate and structure discussion of complex material.
- i) interact effectively within the student group taking on a variety of roles.

Indicative content:

This module examines data and developments concerning social class, 'race', and gender in contemporary schooling, education and their relationships to developments in the economy and society. It scrutinises and evaluates explanatory theoretical developments in the economy, in society and in education. These theories include structuralist neo-Marxism, culturalist neo-Marxism, Postmodernism, ***Feminism***, Postmodern Feminism, and liberal democratic theories. The module also examines and critiques developments in education policy and practice with regard to social class, 'race', and gender.

Teaching and Learning Strategy:

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT ACTIVITIES	STUDY HOURS
12 x 1 hour lectures	12 hours
12 x 2 hour seminars	24 hours
12 x 1 hour seminars	12 hours
24 x 3 hours preparation and reading	72 hours
1x 3000 word extended assignment	30 hours
Individual Presentation (20/30 minutes)	10 hours
Individual Book Review Presentation	10 hours
Tutorial and skills development	30 hours
TOTAL	200 hours

Assessment:

	UN-ITS	WEIG-H-TING	LEAR-NING OUT-COMES
<p>1 x Individual Book Review Presentation of c.1,000 words (Autumn Term, 2001)</p> <p><i>This should be a review of one book but would advisedly refer to other relevant books, articles, other cultural artifacts and experiences (such as film, dance, poetry, literature, religious observation, pop or other culture) and the perspectives therein.</i></p> <p><i>The review should briefly summarise the book, locate its political/ ideological position (and perhaps, geneology), in particular with respect to issues underlying this module. Students should then evaluate the book in terms of their own ideological position.</i></p> <p><i>80% of marks will be awarded for the presentation content, 20% for the oral presentation.</i></p>	1 unit	0.2	a,e,f,g,h,i
<p>1 x Individual written Presentation of c.1,000 words (Spring Term, 2001)</p> <p><i>The actual presentation (both oral and written) will be marked individually, though it could be presented as an individual or paired or small group presentation.</i></p> <p><i>The content should be of one's own or of family or of other person/group of people's experience of 'race' and/or gender and /or social class and the way in which it/these has/have structured/ influenced that individual.</i></p> <p><i>The content should be analysed in terms of relevant theoretical and analytical concepts and theories.</i></p> <p><i>The use of Appendices as supporting documentary material is acceptable.</i></p> <p><i>80% of marks will be awarded for the presentation content, 20% for the oral presentation.</i></p>	1 unit	0.2	d,e,f,g,h,i
<p>1 x 3,000 Word written Assignment (Summer term, 2002)</p> <p><i>This will be presented to a sub-group of 4 or 5 or so students as 'work-in-progress' during the summer term</i></p> <p><i>The title will be self-selected by the student in consultation with the tutor. Students should take the opportunity to critically examine any aspect deriving from the course that most interests them.</i></p> <p><i>The assignment may develop from either (or both) of the previous assignments, though where this is so, that/ those previous assignments must be attached as Appendices to this assignment. Clearly, the level of analysis and explanation of conceptualisation will need to be more detailed than in the prior assignments.</i></p> <p><i>The presentation should conform to the Harvard system of referencing. Non-written material may also be submitted as Appendices should a student so desire.</i></p>	3 units	0.6	a,b,c,d,e,f,g

Assessment criteria:

Learning Outcomes: Knowledge and Understanding

Through the written assignment, focusing on one or a series of major educational developments in either theoretical explanation or of empirical developments, through the individual presentations and through seminar discussions and mini-presentations, to demonstrate a knowledge and critical understanding of:

- a) Key concepts with respect to social class analysis; 'race', racism and ethnicity and their analysis; and gender and feminisms;
- b) major contemporary and recent developments within schooling with respect to social class, 'race' and gender;
- c) key aspects of post-World War Two political ideologies in education such as social democracy, liberal-progressivism, Radical Left/ Marxist , Radical Right Conservative and 'Third Way' ideologies and their relationship to policy.

Learning Outcomes: Subject-specific skills:

Through the extended written assignment, the individual presentations and through seminar discussions and mini-presentations, to demonstrate:

- d) critical consideration of a range of theoretical explanations and ideological perspectives on education policy;
- e) development and justification of their own well-considered evaluative judgements.

Learning Outcomes: Key Skills:

Through the extended written assignment, the individual presentations and through seminar discussions and mini-presentations, to demonstrate:

- f) critical reading of a wide range of texts;
- g) sophisticated presentation of arguments;
- h) individual presentation skills of presenting an argument/analysis and responding to questioning others lucidly, analytically and relevantly.
- i) effective interaction with others in the student group

In all coursework assessment cover sheets will be used to indicate clearly to students the precise criteria to be fulfilled. As part of the presentations, the student will be required to conduct a self-evaluation of the presentation, which shall form part of the assessment.

Indicative reading and other learning resources

- Set Text 1 Hill, D. and Cole, M. (2001) *Schooling and Equality: Fact, Concept and Policy*. London: Kogan Page. (£17.99)
- Set Text 2 Hill, D., McLaren, P., Cole, M. and Rikowski, G. (eds.) (1999) *Postmodernism in Educational Theory: Education and the Politics of Human Resistance*. London: Tufnell Press. (£15)

In particular the chapters in these two books on class, 'race', gender, education policy and globalisation will be used as texts by the class.

Other Reading

Arnot, M., David, M. and Weiner, G. (1995) *Education Reforms and Gender Equality in Schools*. Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission.

Arnot, M., David, M. and Weiner, G. (1999) *Closing the Gender Gap: Post-War Education and Social Change*. London: Polity Press.

Cole, M. (ed.) (1999) *Equality, Education and Human Rights*. London: Falmer Press.

Cole, M., Hill, D. and Shan, S. (eds.) (1997) *Promoting Equality in Primary Schools*. London: Cassell.

Cole, M, Hill, D, McLaren, P and Rikowski, G (2001) *Red Chalk: on Schooling, Capitalism and Politics*. Brighton: Institute for Education Policy Studies.

Davies, N (2000) *The School Report: Why Britain's Schools are Failing*, Vintage, London

Department for Education and Employment (DfES) (2001) *Schools Achieving Success*. London: DfES.

Epstein, D. (1993) *Changing Classroom Cultures: anti-racism, politics and schools*. Stoke-on Trent: Trentham Books.

Epstein, D., Elwood, J., Hey, V. and Maw, J. (1998) *Failing Boys: Issues in Gender and achievement*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Gaine, C. and George, R. (1998) *Gender, 'Race' and Class in Schooling: a New Introduction*. London: Falmer Press.

German, L. (1996) *A Question of Class*. London: Bookmarks

Gerwitz, S., Ball, S. and Bowe, R. (1995) *Markets, Choice and Equity in Education*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Gillborn, D. and Gipps, C. (1996) *Recent Research on the Achievement of Ethnic Minority Children in Schools*. London: HMSO.

- Gillborn, D. and Mirza, H. (2000) *Educational Inequality: Mapping Race, Class and Gender*. London: Ofsted.
- Gillborn, D. and Youdell, D. (2000) *Rationing Education: Policy, Practice, Reform and Equity*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Gordon, D and Townsend, P (eds) (2001) *Breadline Europe: The Measurement of Poverty*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Griffiths, M. (1998) *Educational Research for Social Justice*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Grosvenor, I. (1997) *Assimilating Identities: Racism and Education Policy in Post 1945 Britain*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Halsey, A. H., Lauder, H., Brown, P and Stuart Wells, A. (1997) *Education: Culture, Economy, Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hill, D. and Cole, M. (1999) *Promoting Equality in Secondary Schools*. London: Cassell.
- Hillcole Group (1997) *Rethinking Education and Democracy: A Socialist Alternative*
- Knight, C. (1990) *The Making of Tory Education Policy in Post-War Britain 1950-1986*. London: Falmer.
- Mahony, P. and Zmroczek, C. (1997) *Class Matters: 'Working-class' Women's Perspectives on Social Class*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Matheson, D. and Grosvenor, I. (eds.) (1999) *An introduction to the Study of Education*. London: David Fulton.
- McCulloch, G. (1998) *Failing the Ordinary Child: the theory and practice of working-class secondary education*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- McLaren, P. (1997) (Third edition) *Life in Schools: an Introduction to Critical pedagogy in the Foundations of Education*. Harlow: Longman.
- McLaren P. (2000) *Che Guevara, Paolo Freire and the Pedagogy of Revolution*. Lanham, ML and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Myers, K. (ed.) (1999) *Whatever Happened to Equal Opportunities? Gender Equality in Schools*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- O'Keeffe, D. (1986) *The Wayward Curriculum: Cause for Parents' Concern*. London: the Social Affairs Unit.
- Parekh, B. (2000) *Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain ('The Parekh Report')*. London: Profile Books.
- Plummer, G. (2000) *Failing Working-Class Girls*. Stoke-on Trent: Trentham Books.

Rahman, M., Palmer, G., Kenway, P. and Howarth, C. (2001) *Monitoring Poverty and Social Exclusion 2000*, York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, <www.jrf.org.uk> (accessed 7 August 2001).

Reid, I. (1998) *Class in Britain*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Runnymede Trust (1997) *Islamophobia - Its Features and Dangers*. London: Runnymede Trust.

Sarup, M. (1983) *Marxism Structuralism Education*. Lewes: Falmer Press.

Saunders, P. (1996) *Unequal But Fair: a study of class barriers in Britain*. London: Institute for Economic Affairs.

Searle, C. (1997) *Living Community, Living School*. London: Tufnell Press.

Sivanandan, A (2000b) *Outcast England, How Schools Exclude Black Children*. London: Institute of Race Relations.

Tomlinson, S. (2001) *Education in a post-welfare society*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Tomlinson, S. and Craft, M. (eds.) (1995) *Ethnic Relations and Schooling: Policy and Practice in the 1990s*. London: Athlone Press.

Weiner, G. (1994) *Feminisms in Education*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Williams, F. (1989) *Social Policy: an Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Key Journals and Magazines

British Journal of Sociology of Education
Gender and Education
Race and Class

Education and Social Justice
Multicultural Teaching
Times Educational Supplement

For Radical Right wing articles/ books on education see the websites of the (ne-liberal) Institute for Economic Affairs www.iea.org.uk. and the Conservative Party, <www.conservatives.com>. For Radical Left articles / books on education, see the website of the Institute for Education Policy Studies <www.ieps.org.uk> and the website of the Institute for Race relations <www.homebeats.co.uk>

Throughout the course brief readings and extracts will be distributed showing a variety of responses and political positions regarding issues of social class, 'race' and gender.

Students should note that although the lecture sessions are headed and organised into three discrete/ separate sections) one each on social class, 'race' and gender, that the course will continuously examine the interconnections, the multiplicity of experience (eg of social class being gendered and 'raced'). This will be through the ongoing programme of student presentations which will not be organised into those three discrete blocs, and through a number of the guest lecture sessions that may well refer to more than one discrete/ separate aspect of equality/ inequality/ opportunity/ experience.

Course Programme

Date: Friday	Sess -ion	1 st hour	2 nd hour
1 Oct 2001		No meeting: In the first week students should read one of the book texts and also locate and skim/ read through a copy of each of the journals and magazines listed. During the first session students will spend some time giving a brief (c. 5 minutes) description and evaluation of their reading.	
8 Oct 2001	1	OVERVIEW: Introduction to course: Class, 'Race' and Gender in Schooling and in Society, The Interconnections and Issues, Course Objectives, Content and Assessment	<p>Student plenary discussion</p> <p>Discussion of readings</p> <p>Student examination of copies provided of each book on the reading list</p> <p>Setting of reading for next week</p>
15 Oct 2001	2	CLASS 1 Social Class in schooling and society <u>Set chapter</u> on social class from set text 1 (Hill and Cole, 2001). See also Gillborn and Mirza, 2000; Rahman et al, 2001)	<p>Plenary discussion and sub-group activity</p> <p>Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary</p> <p>Student examination of copies of each book on social class and education on the reading list plus additional material (both teaching and policy)</p> <p>Setting of reading for next week</p>
22 Oct 2001	3	CLASS 2 Theories and analyses of social class: Marxist and ant-Marxist theories <u>Set chapter</u> on social class from set text 2 (Sanders, Hill and Hankin, 1999) See Sarup, 1983; Hill, 2001 on globalisation) <i>Guest lecture: Glenn Rikowski</i>	<p>Plenary discussion and sub-group activity</p> <p>Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary</p>

29 Oct 2001	4	CLASS 3 Social class and experience of education (see McCulloch, 1998; McLaren, 1997) <i>Guest lecture: Ted Hankin</i> <i>Guest Student presentation</i>	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their initial reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary
5 Nov 2001	5	ASSESSMENT 1 Formal book review presentations and subsequent written submission (c. 1,000 words)	CLASS 4 Language, the curriculum and social class (see Gaine and George, 1998, Cole et al, 1997; Hill and Cole, 1999)
12 Nov 2001		READING WEEK	
19 Nov 2001	6	ASSESSMENT 1 Formal individual book review presentations and subsequent written submission	CLASS 5 State policy and social class- macro-policy and education policy (see Hill, 2001 on policy; DfES, 2001; Gewirtz et al, 1995)
26 Nov 2001	7	ASSESSMENT 1 Formal individual book review presentations and subsequent written submission	CLASS 6 Education and Social Class- Policy for Transformation? (see McLaren, 2000) Setting of reading for next week
3 Dec 2001	8	ASSESSMENT 1 Formal individual book review presentations and subsequent written submission	'RACE' 1 'Race' in schooling and society <u>Set chapter</u> on 'race' from set text 1 (Waller, Cole and Hill, 2001) (See Gillborn and Gipps, 1996; Gillborn and Mirza, 2000). Setting of reading for next week

10 Dec 2001	9	'RACE' 2 Theories and analyses of 'race' Set chapter on 'race' from set text 2 (Bourne, 1999) <i>Guest presentation: Kenny Dunkwu</i>	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary Discussion of readings
		XMAS BREAK	
7 Jan 2002	10	'RACE' 3 'race' and experience of education <i>Guest lecture: Claudette Williams??</i> (see McLaren, 1997, Sewell,	Student examination of copies of each book on 'race' and education on the reading list plus additional material (both teaching and policy) Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary <i>Guest Student presentation</i>
14 Jan 2002	11	'RACE' 4 language, the curriculum and 'race' (see Gaine and George, 1998, Cole et al, 1997; Hill and Cole, 1999) <i>Guest lecture: Leena Helavaara Robertson</i>	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their eading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary
21 Jan 2002	12	'RACE' 5 State policy and 'race'- macro-policy and education policy (see Gillborn and Youdell, 2000; Grosvenor, 1997; Parekh et al, 2000; Tomlinson and Craft, 1995) <i>Guest lecture: Mike Cole??</i>	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary

28 Jan 2002	13	ASSESSMENT 2 Individual or paired or small group analytical presentation of own or of family or of other person/group of people's experience of 'race' and/or gender and /or social class (c.1,000 words)	'RACE' 6 Education and 'race'-Policy for Transformation?
4 Feb 2002	14	ASSESSMENT 2 Individual or paired or small group analytical presentation of own or of family or of other person/group of people's experience of 'race' and/or gender and /or social class (c.1,000 words)	GENDER 1 Gender in schooling and society Set chapter on gender from set text 1 (Hirom, 2001) <i>Guest Lecture: Kate Hirom</i>
11 Feb 2002		READING WEEK	
18 Feb 2002	15	ASSESSMENT 2 Individual or paired or small group analytical presentation of own or of family or of other person/group of people's experience of 'race' and/or gender and /or social class (c.1,000 words)	GENDER 2 Theories and analyses of gender Set chapter on gender from set text 2 (Kelly, 1999) (see Weiner, 1994, Williams, 1989) <i>Guest lecture: Marie Stowell</i>
25 Feb 2002	16	ASSESSMENT 2 Individual or paired or small group analytical presentation of own or of family or of other person/group of people's experience of 'race' and/or gender and /or social class (c.1,000 words)	GENDER 3 Gender and experience of education (see Myers, 1999)
4 Mar 2002	17	GENDER 4 Language, the curriculum and gender (see Gaine and George, 1998, Cole et al 1997; Hill and Cole, 1999) <i>Guest lecturer: Rosalyn George??</i>	Student plenary discussion Discussion of readings Student examination of copies of each book on gender and education on the reading list plus additional material (both teaching and policy)
11 March 2002	18	GENDER 5 State policy and gender- macro-policy and education policy (see Arnot et al, 1995)	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor

18 March 2002	19	GENDER 6 Education and Gender- Policy for Transformation?	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary
		<i>EASTER BREAK (3 WEEKS)</i>	
15 Apr 2002	20	PRESENTATION TO SUB- GROUP OF STUDENTS re Assignment 3: work in progress on the 3,000 word essay	Research and Social Justice (See Griffiths, 1998)
22 Apr 2002	21	PRESENTATION TO SUB- GROUP OF STUDENTS re Assignment 3: work in progress on the 3,000 word essay	Postmodern Analyses of Social Class, 'Race' and Gender
29 Apr 2002	22	Education and Transformation (See McLaren 1997, 2000, Hillcole Group, 1997, DfES, 2001)	Student discussion and evaluation of various models of transformation in education
6 May 2002	23	Conclusion to course	SUBMISSION DATE FOR ASSIGNMENT 3: Friday 10 May 2001

Appendix 13

**RECENT AND CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN
EDUCATION**

**A Year 1 Module at University College, Northampton,
for education non-'teacher training' students. An
example of a potentially Radical Left course**

University College Northampton
EDUCATION MODULE: RECENT AND CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN
EDUCATION
EDU1003
2001-2002

MODULE GUIDE
2001/2002

Unit 1 Combined Honours Education 2001-2002

Module Code	Level	Credit Value	Leader
EDU1003	1	20	Dave Hill

Recent and Contemporary Issues in Education

Context/Rationale: This module enables students to become aware of and understand major recent and contemporary developments and issues in education. It also enables students to become aware of a variety of contemporary political, ideological and sociological perspectives through which these developments can be explained and critiqued. The module attempts to encourage students to examine and develop their own perspectives and to become willing and able to apply and question those perspectives.

Indicative content:

In the first phase, students will examine major developments from 1944 to the present. They will start by examining current New Labour policy in schooling and education, and the National Curriculum. They will then proceed to examine the 1944 Education Act, the development, justification and evaluation of Comprehensive Education, the 1976 Ruskin Speech of James Callaghan, and Conservative education policy 1979-1997, focusing on the 1988 Education Reform Act. These various developments will be analysed in terms of their political ideology as well as in terms of their effects.

In the second phase, students will focus on questions of equality, inequality and education- related facts, concepts, sociological analyses, and policies. They will look at issues of equality and inequality, inclusion and exclusion, social class and education, gender and education, 'race' and education, sexuality and education, and special needs and education.

In the third phase, students will evaluate one or two contemporary issues and policy developments. These may include a study of 'New Labour' and Equality Issues, The School Effectiveness Movements, Assessment, the Curriculum, new types of school, selection and diversity in schooling, the role of 'business' and privatisation in schooling, Conservative and New Labour policy on Initial Teacher Education and Training, and issues of who should control schooling and education (the state, the LEA, governors, workers, private business?).

Learning outcomes

On successful completion of the module the learner will be able to:

Knowledge and Understanding:

a) Outline the main features and understand the significance of major developments in English/Welsh education since 1944

- b) Present and evaluate the main features of major political ideologies in education
- c) Discuss the main relationships between educational ideologies and education policy
- d) State and evaluate major sociological explanations of inequalities in education

Subject-specific skills:

- e) Distinguish between competing explanations and ideologies relating to education issues
- f) Develop own informed judgements and question those of others relating to competing explanations and ideologies relating to education issues

Key Skills:

- g) Manage time and tasks to prepare for classes and assignments
- h) Develop and review the effectiveness of oral communication skills
- i) Develop and review the effectiveness of written communication skills
- j) Agree responsibilities and working arrangements to meet group goals

Content outline

AUTUMN TERM 2001

Session number (and CAF Week)	<i>Week Beginning</i>	<i>Content</i>
0 (w39)	24/09/01	<i>Induction Week (Tues. 25 Sept.) in room HLT1 09-10am Introduction to Education Studies (Dave Hill and Team) Introductions, 'Education and Me', Preparation for Friday task 1 hour Seminar (11am-12) (rooms S101, S216) (1-2pm rooms S101, S216)</i>
0 (w39)	24/09/01	<i>Induction Week. (Fri. 28th Sept.) 2 hour Seminar (3-5pm) (rooms S101, S103, S215, S216) Student mini-presentations, course documentation (Ed Studs. Booklet).</i>
1 (w40)	01/10/01	<i>2 hour Seminar Distribution and explanation of Course Booklet: Learning Outcomes, Content, Assessments, Assessment Criteria Bibliography, Reading *** Setting of <u>non-graded</u> formative/ diagnostic Assignment in seminar session</i>
2 (w41)	08/10/01	<i>Lecture 1 (Thurs 11th Oct.) + 1 hour seminar: Introduction: Education Issues Today and since 1944: Key Concepts in Ideology. Terminology (e.g. politics, ideology, socialism, liberal progressivism, conservatism), themes (e.g. selection or comprehensivisation; common curriculum or differentiated curriculum; vocational education or liberal education; privatisation or state or LEA control of schooling; market and competition in schooling or a unified system of education) (Dave Hill and Team)</i>

3 (w42)	15/10/01	<i>2 hour Seminar: follow-up to the lecture hand-in to seminar tutor of non graded formative assignment during seminar session</i>
4 (w43)	22/10/01	<i>Lecture 2 (Thurs.25th Oct.) + 1 hour seminar: <u>The 1944 Education Act, selective schooling and the development of the Comprehensive System. Social Democratic education?</u> (John Stanley) *** Setting of Autumn Term 1000 word Paragraphs Assignment (Assignment 1)</i>
5 (w44)	29/10/01	<i>2 hour Seminar: follow-up to the lecture debriefing of non graded formative assignment</i>
6 (w45)	05/11/01	<i>Lecture 3 (Thurs.8th Nov.) + 1 hour seminar: <u>The 1976 Ruskin Speech of James Callaghan and the end of Liberal Progressive child-centred education?</u>(Marie Stowell)</i>
7 (w46)	12/11/01	<i>2 hour Seminar: follow-up to the lecture</i>
8 (w47)	19/11/01	<i>Lecture 4 (Thurs.22nd Nov.) + 1 hour seminar: <u>Politics, Ideology and the 1988 Education Reform Act: Radical Right Conservative Education 1979-87- the neo-liberals and the neo-conservatives</u> (Dave Hill) <i>Tutor Team Meeting in CH Office Meeting Room immediately following lecture</i></i>
9 (w48)	26/11/01	<i>2 hour Seminar: follow-up to the lecture</i>
10 (w49)	03/12/01	<i>Lecture 5 (Thurs.6th Dec.) + 1 hour seminar: <u>The 1988 National Curriculum and its revisions of 1995 and 2000</u> (Ken Bland) ***Distribution of Xmas Vacation Task and associated 2000 word essay assignment on Selection in Education (Assignment 2) (Marie Stowell) (10 mins.)</i>
11 (w50)	10/12/01	<i>2 hour Seminar: follow-up to the lecture ***1000 word Paragraphs on Education Policies (Assignment 1) submission date on Thursday 13th December 2001</i>

Christmas Break

SPRING TERM 2001

12 (w2)	07/01/02	<i>Lecture 6 (Thurs. 10th Jan.) + 1 hour seminar: <u>Introduction to the Term's Course and Assessments.</u> (10 mins.) (Dave Hill and Marie Stowell) <u>Equality, Inequality and Education: Facts, Concepts,</u></i>
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		<u>Analyses, Explanations, Policies.</u> (45 mins.) (Peter Wells)
13 (w3)	14/01/02	<p>2 hour Seminar: follow-up to the lecture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Individual Essay Feedback for Autumn Term 1000 word Assignment on Education policies (Assignment 1)</i> • <i>Feedback and Discussion of Non-Graded Xmas Vacation Task</i> • Student Group Presentation Skills (Marie Stowell). ***<i>Setting of Educational Inequality Issues Group Presentation Assignment (Assignment 3)</i> • Setting up student group presentations: each Seminar Group is to have 5-6 sub-groups of around 4 –5 students for the 45 minute Presentation (30 mins. Max. for the presentation, 15 minutes max. for question and answer and tutor contribution). • Sub-groups to start preparing their 45 minute presentation.
14 (w4)	21/01/02	<p>Lecture 7 (Thurs. 24th Jan.)+ 1 hour seminar: <u>Social Class and Education.</u> (Dave Hill). Tutor Team Meeting in CH Office Meeting Room immediately following lecture</p>
15 (w5)	28/01/02	<p>2 hour Seminar: follow-up to the lecture Feedback to students re Xmas Vac assignment</p>
16 (w6)	04/02/02	<p>Lecture 8 (Thurs. 7th Feb.)+ 1 hour seminar: <u>Gender and Education.</u> (Marie Stowell).</p>
17 (w7)	11/02/02	Student sub-group presentation 1.
18 (w8)	18/02/02	<p>Lecture 9 (Thurs. 21st Feb.) + 1 hour seminar: <u>'Race' and Education.</u> (Dave Hill).</p>
19 (w9)	25/02/02	Student sub-group presentations 2&3.
20 (w10)	04/03/02	<p>Lecture 10 (Thurs. 7th Mar.)+ 1 hour seminar: <u>Sexuality and Education</u> (Ian Williamson)</p>
21 (w11)	11/03/02	Student sub-group presentations 4&5
22 (w12)	18/03/02	<p>Lecture 11 (Thurs. 21st Mar.) + 1 hour seminar: <u>Special Needs and Education</u> (Richard Rose/Marie Howley)</p>

SUMMER TERM 2001

23 (w16)	15/04/02	<p>Student sub-group presentation 6.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feedback to students re the sub-group presentations. ***<i>Submission of 2000 word Selection in Education essay</i>
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		assignment (Assignment 2) by Thursday 18 th April 2002. ***Setting of 1000 word essay on New Labour and a current educational issue (Assignment 4)
24 (w1 7)	22/04/02	Lecture 12 (Thurs. 25th April) + 1 hour seminar: <u>New Labour and Education</u> (Dave Hill)
25 (w1 8)	29/04/02	2 hour Seminar: follow-up to the lecture <i>Feedback to students on Seminar Presentations (Assignment 3)</i>
26 (w1 9)	06/05/02	Lecture 13 (Thurs. 9th May) <u>New Labour and Current Education Policy: Specific Issues</u> (Team) + 1 hour seminar: ***Submission of 1000 word New Labour Assignment (Assignment 4) by Thursday 9 th May 2002 <i>Return to Students of Essay on selection in Education Essay (Assignment 4)</i>
27 (w2 0)	13/05/02	<i>No session</i>
28 (w2 1)	20/05/02	Exams <i>Return to students of New Labour Essay Assignment (Assignment 4) (by collection from outside tutors' rooms as from Mon 20th May 2002 NOTE: There is no exam for this course).</i>
29 (w2 2)	27/05/02	Exams
30 (w2 3)	03/06/02	Exam

Reading Most of these books are in the college bookshop and in the library.

The key text is

Hill, D. and Cole, M. (1999) *Schooling and Equality: Fact, Concept and Policy*. London: Kogan Page

Further Reading: 14 books and booklets

Ainley, P. (2000) *From Earning to Learning: what is happening to education and the welfare state*. London: Tufnell Press.

Barber, M. (1994) *The Making of the 1944 Education Act*. London: Cassell.

Benn, C. and Chitty, C. (1997) *Thirty Years on: Is Comprehensive Education Alive and Well, or Struggling to Survive?* London: Penguin.

Chitty, C. (1999) (2nd edition) *The Education System Transformed*. London: Baseline Books.

Cole, M. (ed.) (2000) *Education, Equality and Human Rights: Issues of Gender, 'Race', Sexuality, Special Needs and Social Class*. London: Routledge.

Cole, M., Hill, D. and Shan, S. (eds.) (1997) *Promoting Equality in Primary Schools*. London: Cassell.

Gaine, C. and George, R. (1999) *Gender, 'Race' and Class in Schooling: a New Introduction*. London: Falmer Press.

Hill, D. (1999) *New Labour and Education: Policy, Ideology and the Third Way*. London: Tufnell Press.

Hill, D. and M. Cole (eds.) (1999) *Promoting Equality in Secondary Schools*. London: Tufnell Press.

Lawton, D. (1992) *Education and Politics in the 1990s: Conflict or Consensus?* London: Falmer Press.

Lawton, D. (1994) *The Tory Mind on Education 1979-94*. London: Falmer Press.

Meighan, R. and Siraj-Blatchford, I. (1998) (3rd edn.) *A Sociology of Educating*. London: Cassell.

Simon, B. (1994) *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Tomlinson, S. (2001) *Education in a Post-Welfare Society*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Students should also read the *Times Educational Supplement* and a broadsheet paper such as *The Guardian* or *The Independent*. Easily accessible magazines are *Forum* (for Comprehensive Education) and *The NUT Education Review*. All of these are in the Library. The first three are on Library CDRom- a fantastic resource!! Also, look for education items in the weekly magazines, the (pro-Conservative) *Spectator*, the (left of New Labour and sometimes pro-New Labour) *New Statesman*. For a socialist/ Marxist perspective opposed to New Labour and to the Conservatives, see the journal *Education and Social Justice* and the weekly, *Tribune*. For very right-wing/ Conservative articles on education see the *Telegraph* or the *Mail*. Incidentally, they all have websites.

Teaching and Learning Strategy:

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT ACTIVITIES	STUDY HOURS
12 x 1 hour lectures	12 hours
36 x 1 hour seminars	36 hours
24 x 3 hours preparation and reading	72 hours
2 x 1000 word short assignments	20 hours
1 x 2,000 word essays	20 hours
Group presentation (30/45 minutes)	10 hours
Tutorial and skills development	30 hours

TOTAL	200 hours
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Assessment:

ASSESSMENT ITEMS	UNITS	WEIGHTING	LEARNING OUTCOMES
1 x 1,000 word essay (Assignment 1: paragraphs on education policies) set on Thurs. 25.10.01 due in Thurs. 13.12.01	1 unit	0.2 i.e.20%	b,c,d,e,f,g,i.
1 x 2,000 word assignment (Assignment 2: selection in education) set on Thurs. 06.12.01 due in Thurs. 18.04.02	2 units	0.4 i.e. 40%	a,b,c,g,I
Group seminar presentation (Assignment 3: educational inequality seminar presentation) set on Thurs. 17.01.02 Presentation on Thurs. 14.02.02, 28.02.02, 14.03.02 or 18.04.02	1 unit	0.2 i.e.20%	b,d,f,h,j
1 x 1,000 word short essay assignment (Assignment 4: New Labour policy) set on Thurs. 18.04.02 due in Thurs. 09.05.02	1 unit	0.2 i.e.20%	a,b,c,d,g

Assessment criteria:

Learning Outcomes: Knowledge and Understanding

Through written assignments, verbal presentation and seminar contribution, to demonstrate a knowledge and understanding of:

- a) major developments in the recent and contemporary history of education in England and Wales since 1944 such as tripartism, comprehensivisation, the 'education market', choice, selection, inclusion/exclusion, New Labour policy on 'standards not structures', privatisation;
- b) key aspects of recent and contemporary political ideologies in education such as Radical Right Conservative, liberal-progressive, social democratic, and Radical Left/ Marxist perspectives;
- c) the relationships between these ideologies and education policy;
- d) key concepts in the sociology and politics of education such as social class, 'race' gender, sexuality, special needs and disability, equality, inequality, meritocracy, equality of opportunity, together with sociological explanations of inequality.

Learning Outcomes: Subject-specific skills:

Through written assignments, verbal presentation and seminar contribution, to demonstrate a:

- e) critical consideration of a range of explanations;
- f) development of their own well-informed judgements.

Learning Outcomes: Key Skills:

Through written assignments, verbal presentation and seminar contribution, to demonstrate their effective use of:

- g) learning skills such as effective reading and note-taking, basic library research, selection and organisation of relevant information from a range of sources, the construction of logical arguments and asking basic critical and evaluative questions.
- h) develop effective oral communication skills, such as listening, understanding, questioning, engaging in informed and questioning dialogue;
- i) develop effective written communication skills, such as essay construction, use of a wide range of sources, the use of critique when dealing with those resources, accurate referencing;

j) develop effective group work skills, such as taking a variety of roles within the group presentation preparation and execution process.

Assignment Schedule

NON- GRADED FORMATIVE ASSIGNMENT 1 (BRIEF DEFINITIONS) (AUTUMN TERM 2001)

<i>Set on</i>		04.10.2001
<i>Hand in date</i>	<i>during seminar</i>	18.10.2001
<i>Return to students date</i>	<i>during seminar</i>	01.11.2001

The assignment is formative in that:

- it is intended to prepare you for the first formally graded assignment
- it requires you to research and read in order to understand a key concept: ideology
- it will help you to clarify and consolidate your understanding
- you will receive feedback on the strengths and limitations of the work you produce

In completing the assignment, your tutor will be looking at:

- your *understanding* of what you have learnt from lectures, seminars and, importantly, library research
- your *competence to communicate* in writing effectively using the conventions of standard English
- your grasp of the principles of using the *Harvard referencing system*

There are two parts to the assignment.

Part A

The first part of EDU1003, takes the concept of ideology as central to an understanding of how education has changed in Britain over the second part of the 20th century.

The concept of ideology is a very slippery one, but important to understand. The following task should help you to do this.

Write approximately 150 words explaining what you understand by the term ideology.

This should be in your own words (although you may include quotes), in standard English (grammatically correct and spellchecked etc) and referenced using the Harvard system (guidance on referencing will be provided).

Part B

EDU1003 examines the ways in which the educational system in England and Wales has been influenced by changing *political ideologies*. These have shaped the types of school that were established, who should attend them and the kind of curriculum taught, as well as a whole range of specific policies.

The following task is intended to help you to be clear about the key differences between the main political ideologies that have shaped education over the last 50 years.

Complete the table below to establish a summary of the main political ideologies and their impact on education. The first part of the table has been completed for you

Political Ideology	Main values promoted by ideology	Dates when ideology was a major influence on education	Key education issues for ideology
Social democratic	equality of opportunity;	1944-1970	• access and

	meritocracy; democracy; social unity; justice		equality of opportunity, esp. for working class <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • selective v non-selective secondary schooling • abolition of private schooling • expansion of nursery and higher education • education as investment in human capital
Liberal- Progressive			
Radical Right			
Radical Left/Marxist			
New Labour			

Completing the assignment

In order to complete the assignment, you will need to research the concept of ideology and the different political ideologies. This means using the library and reading and making your own notes.

There is a huge range of sources which you should find helpful, including:

Sociology and Education Dictionaries
Introductory Sociology and Politics textbooks
Introductory texts on Education

Use contents pages and indexes to help you find relevant material.

GRADED ASSIGNMENT 1 (PARAGRAPHS ON EDUCATION POLICIES) (AUTUMN TERM 2001)

<i>Set on</i>	<i>25.10.2001</i>
<i>Hand in date</i>	<i>13.12.2001</i>
<i>Return to students/ Debriefing date</i>	<i>17.01.2002</i>

Questions

Answer both questions

1 Write c250 words on:

a) The ideologies shaping the 1944 Education Act

b) The ideologies shaping the 1988 Education Act

You should demonstrate a sound understanding of the concept of 'educational ideology'.

2 Select **two** of the following and write c250 words either for or against:

- a) comprehensivisation
- b) vocationalism
- c) the national curriculum
- d) privatisation
- e) progressivism

In marking your work we will be looking for evidence of library research and reading, understanding, clear communication and professional presentation.

The following assignment is intended to assess your understanding of some of the key themes of the first part of the module, namely educational ideologies of the period 1944 –2001/2 and associated education policies. The assignment is specifically focused on your ability to research relevant material, read it for understanding and present a clear coherent summary statement.

The lectures and seminars during the first term should provide you with a basic framework and understanding of educational ideologies and changes in education policy. In order to complete the assignment, however, you will be expected to have read and discussed material from the library to develop your understanding – we do not pretend these are easy ideas to grasp - the process of intellectual engagement with concepts and issues is central to the undergraduate experience.

The work that you submit must:

- ◆ be written in grammatically correct standard English with attention having been given to spelling, punctuation and grammar;
- ◆ professionally presented, preferably as a word processed document, having been subjected to editing and proof-read;
- ◆ properly referenced using the Harvard system of referencing;
- ◆ submitted to the Student Assignment Office (SAO) by the due date.

Guidance is available from the Library on the Harvard system of referencing and if you require help with word-processing you should sign up for a session with IT Services. Advice and guidance on written communication skills is available from the Learning Development Centre. You are strongly advised to start work for the assignment several weeks in advance of the hand-in date.

You are reminded that the work you submit must be your own work and that it must meet standards appropriate to undergraduate work.

NON- GRADED ASSIGNMENT 2 (GLOSSARY OF CONCEPTS)
(XMAS VACATION 2001-2002)

<i>Set on</i>	<i>06.12.2001</i>
<i>Date for discussion of task</i>	<i>during seminar of Thursday 17.01.2002</i>

The following activity is intended to develop your library, research and communication skills and to help prepare you for the work of term 2, and your next assignment by developing an understanding of key concepts and engaging in critical analysis of source material.

A key theme of the course in Term 2 is education and equality with particular reference to social differences. The course will require you to establish a thorough understanding of some key concepts. Using Education and Sociology Dictionaries and Textbooks compile your own glossary of the following key concepts- for each write a short (100 word) summary of the concept.

Social Class

'Race'

Ethnicity	Gender
Sexuality	Disability
Equality	Meritocracy
Social Mobility	Equality of educational opportunity

In completing this task you should be aware that different authors may well use and define these concepts differently- an awareness and understanding of these differences is part of the learning task.

Choose either social class or gender or 'race'/ethnicity or sexuality or disability/special needs, and using the University College library or any other Libraries to which you have access, find:

- a) an article from a 2001 or 2002 copy of the Times Educational Supplement;
- b) an article from a 2001 or 2002 edition of an education magazine (ie a magazine with brief articles);
- c) an article/paper from a back copy of an academic journal;
- d) an article/item, or a brief summary of an item, downloaded from the Internet.

You do not have to photocopy the items, although you may if you wish; but it will be enough to provide a two or three paragraph summary of each of the items. You should be sure however to reference such summaries properly with the name(s) of the writer(s), the title of the article, the name of the publication or source, and the number and date of the publication.

For each item, identify:

- a) the specific issue in relation to educational equality which the item addresses;
- b) the ideological or political position of the author with respect to educational equality;
- c) what evidence (if any) the author cites in support of his/her argument;
- d) whether or not you agree with the author and on what grounds you agree/disagree.

Again, you should aim to write three or four paragraphs on each item in order to address these tasks. You may find it helpful to work with another student, or indeed a small group to carry out these tasks, but be sure to write your own responses to the tasks. Note: this task is not formally assessed. It is not part of the formal assessment process, but the work will be relevant preparation for the 2000 word essay.

GRADED ASSIGNMENT 2 (2000 WORD ESSAY ON SELECTION IN EDUCATION) (SPRING TERM 2002)

<i>Set on</i>	<i>06.12.2001</i>
<i>Hand in date</i>	<i>18.04.2002</i>
<i>Return to students date</i>	<i>09.05.2002</i>

Question

Write an essay of c. 2000 words:

Examine the arguments for and against selection in education.

The assignment is intended to assess your understanding of one of the main themes of the module, namely education and inequality, and how this relates to a key policy issue, namely educational selection. Since the assignment is an essay, it is intended to test your skills of research, analysis and reasoned argument as well as your written communication skills.

You should note that this essay question gives you considerable scope to explore a issue based on reading and research from a wide range of sources, and brings together a number of topics from the lecture programme.

You will need to consider first what is meant by 'selection' and the various forms it can take in education. For example educational systems, local education authorities, and individual schools and other educational institutions can all operate 'selection'. 'Selection' may be on the basis of ability, aptitude, sex, religion, ability to pay or some other criteria.

Debates about the pros and cons of 'selection' have influenced educational policy throughout this century and are a particular theme of recent government policy.

The essay must consider the arguments of those who support selection in education and those who are opposed to it. It must of course present clear summaries of these arguments and weigh them up. In undertaking this, you may wish to look at debates about tripartism and comprehensivisation, streaming and mixed ability grouping, specialist and religious schools. You may also like to consider the impact of 'selection in education' on standards of education and equality of opportunity, as well as the impact on the structure of society as a whole.

You do not have to include all of the above in your essay, but you should make clear the focus and scope of the essay.

Clearly you will need to ensure that you have a sound understanding of key concepts (Xmas vacation formative assignment) and debates. This means that you will need to spend some time (at least 10/12 hours) on reading and research, before planning your essay, writing the first draft and then refining and editing it.

Technical reminders

- ◆ the essay must be submitted to the Student Assignment Office (SAO) by the due date (unless you have been granted an extension);
- ◆ the essay should (preferably) be word processed and written in grammatically correct standard English (you must edit and proof read final versions and if necessary seek help from the Learning Development Centre);
- ◆ the essay must be referenced in the text and include an accurate bibliography.

ASSIGNMENT 3 (PRESENTATION) (SPRING TERM 2001)

<i>Set on</i>	<i>during seminar on Thursday 17.01.2002</i>
<i>Presentation dates</i>	<i>14.02 or 28.02 or 14.03 or 18.04.2001</i>
<i>Feedback to students date</i>	<i>02.05. 2002</i>

A sub-group presentation on an aspect of educational inequality, to evaluate the contention that :

Teachers and schools are primarily to blame for the consistent under-achievement of ...
(choose one)

- Children from working class backgrounds
- Minority ethnic group children
- Boys
- Girls
- Children with disabilities or special needs

In connection with the presentation each student must submit an (individual) written report.

1 Each seminar group will be divided into four or five sub-groups of approximately equal size, with each of these groups having as the focus of their presentation one of the following dimensions of inequality:

- Social class
- Gender
- Ethnicity
- Disability

The selection of topic will be by negotiation between tutor and students.

- 2 The presentations will take place on the dates given above.
- 3 The presentation should address the following 5 areas/aspects
- a) a brief summary of the 'facts' about educational performance for the selected social group(s)
 - b) an explanation of why any differences /inequalities in performance is important
 - c) a consideration of explanations for any differences/inequalities in performance
 - d) an assessment of how teachers/schools may contribute to under-achievement for the selected social group
 - e) suggestions as to how teachers/schools might work to challenge and reduce educational inequalities and raise performance for the selected social group
- 4 Presentations should be based on thorough library research and a sound understanding of the issues and concepts related to debates about educational equality.
Credit will be given for use of relevant and recent research and reference to policy.
- 5 In the week following your presentation you should hand-in a brief (500 words) individual written report evaluating the group's presentation - you may wish to comment upon how well the group worked together to prepare the presentation, what difficulties you had and what successes, as well as the quality of the presentation itself and what improvements you would make if you repeated the exercise. This report should be submitted to the Student Assessment Office, TOGETHER WITH your notes and any overheads for your part of the presentation itself.

ASSIGNMENT 4 ESSAY ON NEW LABOUR (SUMMER TERM 2001)

<i>Set on</i>	<i>18.04.2002</i>
<i>Hand in date</i>	<i>09.05.2002</i>
<i>Return to students date</i>	<i>23.05.2002</i>

Give a critical review of New Labour policy on education. You may choose either New Labour's overall education policy, policy towards one sector of education (such as schooling, or pre-school education, of higher education), or one specific policy (such as Education action Zones, City Academies, Performance Related Pay, the revised National Curriculum, Beacon Schools, Fresh Start schools, the School Effectiveness Movement, Selection/Grammar Schools, Privatisation).

In order to complete this assignment you should refer to and append:

- a recent article from the Times Educational Supplement
- an article/paper from an education academic journal (append the initial summary/ abstract)
- an article/item, or brief summary of an item, downloaded from the internet (append a manageable- e.g. one or two page item or extract).

The 1000 words does not include the appended items above, though it may well include quotes from them.

You may choose to include:

- a) a brief summary of the theme or policy (this could well be in the form of a the appended items);
- b) an explanation of why the theme or policy is important;
- c) an ideological analysis of the theme or policy- (i.e. what cultural or ideological or political view(s) is/ are represented)? What will the policy do or not do with respect to issues of quality, or equality, or raising standards?

As for all assignments this should meet the requirements for academic undergraduate work in relation to written communication, referencing, presentation.

Appendix 14

POLICY, POLITICS AND EDUCATION

**An Education Studies Module at University College,
Northampton, and example of a potentially Radical
Left course**

Education Studies

Policy, Politics and Education

EDU3006

Fridays 2-4pm in GLT

Policy, Politics and Education

Tutor: Dave Hill

SCHOOL	Education
FIELD	Education
MODULE TITLE	Policy, Politics and Education

Module Code	Level	Credit Value	Leader
EDU3006	3	20	Dave Hill

Pre-requisites: Two of EDU2004, EDU2002, EDU2001

Co-requisites: None

Context/Rationale: This module enables students to become aware of and understand different analyses of the relationships between politics and education. Among the specific foci will be 'the conservatisation of schooling' 1979-97; changes in initial teacher education 1979- to the present under Conservative and New Labour governments; Old and New Labour and schooling.

Learning outcomes

On successful completion of the module the learner will be able to:

Knowledge and Understanding:

- a) understand, apply and discuss key concepts in politics, policy studies, and ideology
- b) review critically differing interpretations of selected major developments in education policy in England and Wales since 1979
- c) critically analyse the significance of major political ideological perspectives and their relationship to policy

Subject-specific skills:

- d) identify and compare a range of theoretical explanations and ideological perspectives on education policy
- e) develop and justify own well-considered evaluative judgements

Key Skills:

- f) engage in critical analysis of a wide range of texts
- g) present complex arguments, logically and clearly in appropriate formats
- h) lead, stimulate and structure discussion of complex material
- i) interact effectively within the student group taking on a variety of roles.

Indicative content:

Students will examine definitions and parameters of politics and policy studies. They will also become familiar with major ideologies in education- social democratic; liberal-progressive, radical right neo-conservative and radical right neo-liberal, socialist/Marxist and 'Third Way'. They will then apply these to the policy and ideological developments in England and Wales and selected other late capitalist societies. While policy developments in England and Wales will be highlighted, reference will be made to US, Australasian and Western European policy.

Teaching and Learning Strategy:

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT ACTIVITIES	STUDY HOURS
12 x 1 hour lectures	12 hours
12 x 1 hour seminars	12 hours
12 x 2 hour seminars	24 hours
24 x 3 hours preparation and reading	72 hours
1x 3000 word extended assignment	30 hours
Individual Presentation (20/30 minutes)	15 hours
Individual Poster presentation	15 hours
Tutorial and skills development	20 hours
TOTAL	200 hours

Assessment:

ASSESSMENT ITEMS	UNITS	WEIGHTING	LEARNING OUTCOMES
<p>1. Individual Book Review Presentation (Autumn term)</p> <p><i>This should be a review of one book but would advisedly refer to other relevant books, articles and the perspectives therein.</i></p> <p><i>The review should briefly summarise the book, locate its political/ ideological position (and perhaps, geneology), in particular with respect to issues underlying this module. Students should then evaluate the book in terms of their own ideological position.</i></p> <p><i>80% of marks will be awarded for the presentation content, 20% for the oral presentation</i></p> <p><i>The Presentation may be part of a group or paired presentation, but marks will be awarded individually and not for the group aspect of the presentation.</i></p>	1 unit	0.2	a,c,e,h,i
<p>2. 1 x Poster (or alternative) Presentation (Spring Term)</p> <p><i>This presentation may be by means of a Poster presentation (on an A1 size of paper or equivalent (i.e. two flipchart sheets size). Alternatively students may present by means of any</i></p>	1 unit	0.2	a,b,c,d,h,i

<p><i>appropriate alternative audio-visual means such as a pre-recorded videotape, OHTs and/or role-play. Students will be marked individually, though presentations may be in the form of two, three or four person presentation.</i></p> <p><i>70% of marks will be awarded for the presentation content, 30% for the presentational skills and effectiveness.</i></p>			
<p>3. 1 x 3,000 Word written Assignment (Summer Term)</p> <p><i>This will be presented to the class as 'work-in-progress' on the essay topic area during the Summer Term.</i></p> <p><i>The title will be self-selected by the student in consultation with the tutor and may relate to any aspect of education policy and an ideological analysis of that policy. The policy may be a micro-policy (e.g. at school level), a meso-policy (such as those indicated in the titles for the Policy lectures), or it may be an overall policy analysis of New Labour's education policy. While it might be expected that students will tend to focus on the meso-level policy explained above, students should take the opportunity to critically examine any aspect deriving from the course that most interests them.</i></p> <p><i>The assignment may develop from either (or both) of the previous assignments, though where this is so, that/ those previous assignments must be attached as Appendices to this assignment. Clearly, the level of analysis and explanation of conceptualisation will need to be more detailed than in the prior assignments.</i></p> <p><i>The presentation should conform to the Harvard system of referencing.</i></p>	3 units	0.6	a,b,c,d,e, f,g

Assessment criteria:

Learning Outcomes: Knowledge and Understanding

Through the extended written assignment, focusing on one particular major policy (or on a series of) major policy educational development(s), the individual presentations and through seminar discussions and mini-presentations, to demonstrate a knowledge and understanding of:

- a) Key concepts in politics, policy studies, state theory and ideology;
- b) major developments in the recent and contemporary history of education in late capitalist societies in the post-World War Two era;
- c) key aspects of post-World War Two political ideologies in education such as social democracy, liberal-progressivism, Radical Left/ Marxist , Radical Right Conservative and 'Third Way' ideologies.

Learning Outcomes: Subject-specific skills:

Through the extended written assignment, the individual presentations and through seminar discussions and mini-presentations, to demonstrate:

- e) critical consideration of a range of theoretical explanations and ideological perspectives on education policy and the state;
- f) development and justification of their own well-considered evaluative judgements.

Learning Outcomes: Key Skills:

Through the extended written assignment, the individual presentations and through seminar discussions and mini-presentations, to demonstrate:

- g) critical reading of a wide range of texts;
- h) sophisticated essay writing;
- i) individual presentation skills of presenting an argument/analysis and responding to questioning others lucidly, analytically and relevantly.
- j) interacting effectively with others in the student group

In all coursework assessment cover sheets will be used to indicate clearly to students the precise criteria to be fulfilled. As part of the presentations, the student will be required to conduct a self-evaluation of the presentation which shall form part of the assessment.

Key Texts

Cole, M., Hill, D., McLaren, P. and Rikowski, G. (2001)
***Red Chalk: On Schooling, Capitalism and Politics*. Brighton: Institute for Education Policy Studies.**

Fielding, M. (ed.) *Taking Education Really Seriously: Four Years Hard Labour*. London: Routledge.

Hill, D. (1999) *New Labour and Education: Policy, Ideology and the Third Way*. London: Tufnell Press.

Tomlinson, S. (2001) *Education in a post-welfare society*, Open University Press, Buckingham.

Tooley, J. (2000) *Reclaiming Education*. London: Cassell.

Other Reading

Ainley, P. (2000) *From Earning to Learning: What is happening to Education and the Welfare State?* London: Tufnell Press.

Allen, M. (1999) Labour's business plan for teachers. In M. Allen *et al*, *Business, Business, Business: New Labour and Education*. London: Tufnell Press.

Ball, S (1990) *Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explorations in Policy Sociology*. London: Routledge.

Barber, M. (1996) *The Learning Game: Arguments for an Education Revolution*. London: Victor Gollancz.

Barber M. (2001) High Expectations and standards for all, no matter what: creating a world class education service in England. In M. Fielding, *Taking Education Really Seriously: Four Years Hard Labour*. London: Routledge.

Blair, T (1998) *The Third Way: New Politics for The New Century*. London: Fabian Society.

Bridges, D. and McLaughlin, T. (eds.) *Education and the Market Place*. London: Falmer Press.

Chitty, C (1999) 2nd edn *The Education System Transformed*. Tisbury, Wilts: Baseline Books.

Davies, N. (2000) *The School Report: Why Britain's Schools are Failing*. London: Vintage.

Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) (1997) *Excellence in Schools*. London: DfEE.

DfEE (1999) *Excellence in Cities*. London: DfEE.

- DfEE (2001) *Green Paper: Schools: Building on Success*. London: DfEE.
- DfEE (2001) <http://www.dfes.gov.uk/buildingonsuccess/summary/index.shtml>. London: DfEE.
- Department for Education and Employment (DfES) (2001a) *Schools Achieving Success*. London: DfES.
- Docking, J. (ed) (2000) *New Labour's Policies for Schools: Raising the standard?* London: David Fulton.
- Gamble, A. (1983) Thatcherism and Conservative Politics. In S. Hall, and M. Jacques, (eds.) *The Politics of Thatcherism*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Giddens, A. (1998) *The Third Way: The renewal of social democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (2000) *The Third Way And Its Critics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gillborn, D. and Youdell, D. (2000) *Rationing Education: Policy, practice, reform and equity*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Halsey, A. H., Lauder, H., Brown, P. and Stuart Wells, A. (eds.) (1997) *Education: Culture, Economy, Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hatcher, R (1998) Social Justice and the Politics of School Effectiveness and Improvement. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 1 (2) pp 267-289.
- Hatcher, R (1999) Profiting from Schools: Business and Education Action Zones. *Education and Social Justice*. 1 (1) pp 9-16.
- Hatcher, R. (2001) Getting down to the business: schooling in the globalised economy. *Education and Social Justice*, 3 (2) pp 45-59.
- Hill, D. (2001) State Theory and the neo-Liberal Reconstruction of Teacher Education: a Structuralist neo-Marxist Critique of Postmodernist, Quasi-Postmodernist, and Culturalist neo-Marxist Theory. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 22 (1) pp.137-157.
- Hill, D, McLaren, P, Cole, M and Rikowski, G (eds) (1999) *Postmodernism in Educational Theory: Education and the Politics of Human Resistance*, Tufnell Press, London
- Hillcole Group/ ed. Clyde Chitty (1993) *Changing the Future: Redprint for Education*. London: Tufnell Press.
- Hillcole Group (1997) *Rethinking Education and Democracy: a Socialist Alternative for the Twenty-First Century*. London: Tufnell Press.
- Hillgate Group (1986) *Whose Schools? A Radical Manifesto*. London: The Hillgate Group.
- Hillgate Group (1987) *The Reform of British Education- From Principles To Practice*. London: The Claridge Press.
- Hitchens, P. (2000) *The Abolition Of Britain*. London: Quartet Books. Knight, C. (1990) *The Making of Tory Education Policy in Post-War Britain 1950-1986*. London: Falmer.
- Labour Party (1997) *Ambitions for Britain; Labour's Manifesto 2001*. London: The Labour Party.
- Lawton, D. (1992) *Education and Politics in the 1990s: Conflict or Consensus*. London: Falmer Press.
- Lawton, D. (1994) *The Tory Mind on Education 1979-94*. London: Falmer Press.
- Mahoney, P. and Hextall, I. (2000) *Reconstructing Teaching: standards, performance and accountability*. London: Routledge Falmer.

- Molnar, A. (2001) (Second edition) *Giving Kids the Business: The Commercialisation of America's Schools*. Westview: Harper Collins.
- Mortimore, P. and Whitty, G. (1997) *Can school improvement overcome the effects of*
- O'Keefe, D. (1986) *The Wayward Curriculum: Cause for Parents' Concern*. London: the Social Affairs Unit.
- Powell, M. (ed.) *New Labour, New State? The 'third way' in British social policy*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Power, S. and Whitty, G. (1999) New Labour's education policy: first, second or third way? In *Journal of Education Policy*, 14 (5), pp 535-546.
- Reagan, B. (2001) *Not For Sale: the case against the privatisation of education*. Socialist Teachers Alliance, c/o 1 Shrubland Rd., Walthamstow, London E17 7QH.
- Rikowski, G. (2001) *The Battle in Seattle*. London: Tufnell Press.
- Rikowski, G. (2001) New Labour and the Business Take-over of Education. *Socialist Future: Quarterly Magazine of the Movement for a Socialist Future*, 9 (4) pp.14-17.
- Simon, B. (1994) *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*. London: Lawrence and Wishart..
- Smyth, J., Dow, A., Hattam, R. Reid, A. and Shacklock, G. (2000) *Teachers' Work in a Globalizing Economy*. London: Falmer.
- Socialist Alliance (2001) *People before profit: the Socialist Alliance manifesto for the general election*. London: Socialist Alliance <www.socialistalliance.net>
- Thatcher, M. (1993) *The Downing Street Years*, Harper Collins, London.
- Thrupp, M. (1999) *Schools Making A Difference: Let's be realistic!* Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Tooley, J. (2001) The good, the bad and the ugly: on four years' Labour education policy. In Fielding, M. (ed.) *Taking Education Really Seriously: Four Years Hard Labour*. London: Routledge.
- Whitty, G. (1997) Marketization, the State, and the Re-Formation of the Teaching Profession. In A.H. Halsey et al. (eds.) *Education, Culture and Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Whitty, G. (1998). New Labour, Education and Disadvantage. *Education and Social Justice*, 1 (1) pp.2-8.
- Whitty, G., Power, S. and Halpin, D. (1998) *Devolution and Choice in Education: the School, the State and the Market*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

NOTE: A number of texts will be distributed as readings during the course. These will be, inter alia, by Michael Barber (New Labour), David Blunkett (New Labour), Richard Hatcher (Radical Left), Peter Hitchens (Radical Right neo-Conservative), Glenn Rikowski (Radical Left), James Tooley (Radical Right neo-Liberal) and by policy sociologists such as Geoff Whitty, Martin Thrupp and Stephen Ball.

Key Journals/ Magazines

British Journal of Education Studies

British Journal of Sociology of Education

Capital and Class

Education and Social Justice

Forum for Comprehensive Education

The Institute for Economic Affairs: list of publications and website www.iea.org.uk

The Institute for Education Policy Studies and website www.ieps.org.uk

International Studies in the Sociology of Education

Course Programme

Course Programme

Date: Friday	Sess -ion	1st hour	2nd hour
5 Oct 2001		No meeting: In the first week students should read one of the book texts and also locate and skim/ read through a copy of each of the journals and magazines listed. During the first session students will spend some time giving a brief (c. 5 minutes) description and evaluation of their reading.	
12 Oct 2001	1	OVERVIEW: Introduction to course: Education Policy, New Labour, Course Objectives, Content and Assessment. Negotiation of precise forms of assessment. Introduction to the bibliography	Student plenary discussion Discussion of readings Student examination of copies provided of each book on the reading list
19 Oct 2001	2	NEW LABOUR 1	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary Setting of reading for next week
26 Oct 2001	3	NEW LABOUR 2	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary

2 Nov 2001	4	NEW LABOUR 3: New Labour's plans for 2001-2006 Schools, Achieving Success. <i>Guest lecture: Glenn Rikowski</i>	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their initial reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary
9 Nov 2001	5	ASSESSMENT 1 Formal book review presentations and subsequent written submission (c. 1,000 words)	LIBERAL-PROGRESIVISM IN EDUCATION (CHILD/STUDENT-CENTREDNESS)
16 Nov 2001		READING WEEK	
23 Nov 2001	6	ASSESSMENT 1 Formal individual book review presentations and subsequent written submission (c.1,000 words)	NEO-LIBERALISM AND THE MARKET IN EDUCATION <i>Guest Speaker</i>
30 Nov 2001	7	ASSESSMENT 1 Formal individual book review presentations and subsequent written submission (c.1,000 words)	NEO-CONSERVATISM AND BACK-TO-BASICS
7 Dec 2001	8	Radical Left Policy readings	THE RADICAL LEFT AND EDUCATION: CULTURALIST AND STRUCTURALIST NEO-MARXISM
14 Dec 2001	9	THE RADICAL LEFT AND EDUCATION: SEATTLE AND THE GLOBAL ANTI-CAPITALIST MOVEMENT <i>Guest Lecture: Glenn Rikowski</i>	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary
		XMAS BREAK	
11 Jan 2002	10	POLICY 1 <i>Guest lecture: New Labour's policies: a primary headteacher</i>	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary

18 Jan 2002	11	POLICY 2 <i>Guest lecture: New Labour's policies: a secondary headteacher</i>	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary
25 Jan 2002	12	POLICY 3 e.g specialist schools and selection <i>Guest speaker</i>	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary
29 Jan 2002	13	ASSESSMENT 2 Poster or other style of Presentation	POLICY 4 e.g the Curriculum
8 Feb 2002	14	ASSESSMENT 2 Poster or other style of presentation	POLICY 5 e.g. The National Literacy Strategy <i>Guest speaker: Leena Helavaara Robertson</i>
15 Feb 2002		READING WEEK	
22 Feb 2002	15	ASSESSMENT 2 Poster or other style of presentation	POLICY 6 e.g teacher education and training policy
1 Mar 2002	16	POLICY 7 e.g. Policy on Special Educational Needs	POLICY 8 e.g. Privatisation and the Private Finance Initiative
8 Mar 2002	17	POLICY 8 e.g. Policy on Intervention re Education Action Zones and Excellence in Cities	Student plenary discussion Discussion of readings Student examination of copies of each book on gender and education on the reading list plus additional material (both teaching and policy)

15 March 2002	18	POLICY 9 e.g. policy on Clause 28 and sexuality and schooling	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor
12 March 2002	19	POLICY 10 e.g. Policy on teachers' work, 'supateachers' and Performance Related Pay.	Plenary discussion and sub-group activity Individual student feedback to the class on their reading- plus student questioning and student and tutor commentary
		<i>EASTER BREAK (3 WEEKS)</i>	
19 Apr 2002	20	PRESENTATION TO SUB- GROUP OF STUDENTS re Assignment 3: work in progress on the 3,000 word essay	POSTMODERN ANALYSES OF POLICY
26 Apr 2002	21	PRESENTATION TO SUB- GROUP OF STUDENTS re Assignment 3: work in progress on the 3,000 word essay	Student progress and the 3,000 word essay
30 Apr 2002	22	EDUCATION AND TRANSFORMATION	Student discussion and evaluation of various models of conservation and of transformation in education
May 2002	23	Conclusion to course	SUBMISSION DATE FOR ASSIGNMENT 3: Friday 10 May 2001